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#### **ABSTRACT**

Tholi is a language spoken by people living in southwestern Mindanao, Philippines, in the province of South Cotabato. The pedagogical grammar of Tholi has been written to help non-Tholi interested in learning to speak Tholi. A discussion of spelling and pronunciation includes the alphabet and spelling rules. Other forms of grammar described are nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and personal and demonstrative pronouns. Phrases and nonverbal and verbal sentences are discussed, with emphasis on the focus system. Location, time words, negatives, and questions are also described. Two particular difficulties with Tholi are pronunciation and the focus system. (Contains 2 references.) (JP)



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Abbreviations and symbols

## A Pedagogical Grammar of Tboli

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## Vivian M. Forsberg

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Abbreviations and symbols	
DIR	directional prefix
DU	dual
EMPH	emphasis
EX	exclusive
FT	future tense
ID	identification
IN	inclusive
INT	intensifier
LOC	location particle
NEG	negative particle
NF	nonfocus particle
NP	noun phrase
PL	plural marker
PREP	preposition
PT	past tense
OU	question particle
SG	singular
SP	specific
ø	zero allomorph
•	morpheme boundary
† •	obligatory
<i>(</i>	unknown
i	indicates boundary between comment and topic
•	semantic/grammatical components
,	alternate related meanings
()	encloses implied information as well as words in free
	translation which facilitate reading compound gloss or compound vernacular phrase



#### General abbreviations

AFS	actor focus sentence
EFS	experiencer focus sentence
GFS	goal focus sentence
IFS	instrument focus sentence
OFS	object focus sentence
: 0	that is
i.e.,	
lit.	literal
nat.	natural

#### 0. Introduction

Tboli is a language spoken by approximately 80,000 people living in the mountains of southwestern Mindanao, Philippines, in the province of South Cotabato.

A pedagogical grammar is a tool for learning. This pedagogical grammar of Tboli has been written to help non-Tboli who would like to learn to speak Tboli. It has been written specifically for those who have had no linguistic training to help them in this most exacting task.

Explanations as to how the grammar of Tboli functions are as brief as possible. But a great many examples have been given so that the learner can actually see how it functions. Memorizing these examples will help develop patterns which can then be used to formulate new sentences. All the examples have been taken from text material authored by Tboli themselves and compiled in a concordance done at the University of Oklahoma Computer Laboratory (1966).

There is a great deal of repetition from one section to another. This has been done deliberately, since repetition is another aid in the learning process.

This work is not intended to be a comprehensive grammar of Tboli. Rather it is meant to be an introduction to the basic areas that need to be learned. From these lessons a serious student can proceed on his/her own to add what yet remains to be learned in order to become a fluent speaker.

These 'bare bones' do not in any way show the beautiful figurative language that Tboli delight in using to express themselves in even the most everyday matters. But it is hoped that once the student has digested these basic facts, then listening with understanding will become possible, and that is the key to learning how things are expressed figuratively.

A great help in compiling this material has been Doris Porter's A Tholi Grammar (1977) which was written with linguists in mind.

#### 1. Spelling and pronunciation

#### 1.1 Alphabet

There are seven vowels in the Tboli alphabet and fifteen consonants.

## **1.1.1 Vowels**

Since Tholi has two more vowels than are symbolized in the English alphabet, it is necessary to mark these two with an acute accent to make the seven distinctions:  $\acute{e}$  and  $\acute{o}$ .

In the table below, the first column lists the sounds that occur in Tboli written with the special phonetic symbols linguists use. The second column lists the way these sounds are written in Tboli, followed with an example of each sound both in English and Tboli:



		English	Tboli	
a	а	father	ta	'on top of'
i	i	eat	ti	'foot'
3	é	bet	bé	'grandmother, granddaughter'
จ	e	the	el	'yes'
0	ó	boat	kóm	'you,SG'
u	u	boot	kut	'us two'
э	0	bought	bot	'throw away'

#### 1.1.2 Consonants

The consonants in Tboli are much the same as those in Pilipino or English: b, d, f, g, h, k, l, m, n, ng, s, t, w, y, and the glottal stop, which is written with a grave accent mark (`) over the final vowel in a word where it occurs. Otherwise it is not written.

English speakers may have difficulty with the 'ng' sound. It is familiar when it occurs either in the middle of a word or at the end as in the English word 'singing'. But it is not familiar when it occurs at the beginning of a word, as it often does in Tboli ngà 'child' or nged 'riddle'.

Glottal stop (?) is familiar to English speakers when it occurs at the beginning of words as in '?ache, 'eat', or in the middle of words as in the exclamation 'oh?oh'. But it is not familiar when it occurs at the end of a word as it often does in Tboli ma? 'father' or gunu? 'house'.

When the glottal occurs with a word ending either with  $\acute{e}$  or $\acute{o}$ , the symbol for the glottal (`) is simply added to the symbol already there:  $y\acute{e}$  'mother' or  $y\acute{o}$  'daughter-in-law (term of address)'.

## 1.2 Spelling rules

#### 1.2.1 Glottal stop

There are two positions where the glottal stop is predictable, therefore it is not written.

(1) W	hen the word	does not begin	with another	consonant,	there is a	lways an i	nitial glottal	stop:
-------	--------------	----------------	--------------	------------	------------	------------	----------------	-------

?cted 'to deliver' written as eted ?ówóng 'boat' written as ówóng

(2) When two vowels occur next to each other within a word, there is always a glottal stop between them:

li?i 'taboo' written as lii se?el 'floor' written as seel •

The glottal stop is not predictable when it occurs at the end of a word, therefore it is always written when it occurs in that position:

gawi? 'serving spoon' written as gawi nga? 'child, offspring' written as ngà

As has already been noted in section 1.1.2, when it occurs with either the  $\dot{o}$  or the  $\dot{e}$  in word final position, the two accent marks are joined to become the circumflex:

bé? 'don't' written as bê sdô? 'pig' written as sdô

#### 1.2.2 Double consonants at the beginning of words

There are a great many words in Tboli which have two con. nants at the beginning of a word. When these words are pronounced, there is a short vowel sound heard between the two consonants which is similar to the sound of the vowel in the English word 'the'. This sound is written by linguists with the symbol a. Because the sound is so short when it occurs between the two consonants, it is written above the line: b²tang 'to fall' and k²fung 'dust'. This is done to distinguish it from the vowel of normal length of the same sound: lagad 'industrious' and naat 'omen'.



The fact that it is not the same as the regular vowel of the same sound is evident in that it makes no difference to the new reader whether it is written in a word or not. They can read the word just as easily without it being written. As new literates, they often write this short vowel sound since they pronounce it in slow speech. But as they gain fluency in writing, they drop it.

When translating songs where the aim is to have one syllable correspond to one note, there was a very strong negative reaction by Tboli speakers to make this short vowel and a consonant form a syllable, e.g., Də.wa.ta 'God' and də.mó.yón 'to praise'. The fact that it was soundly rejected as a syllable is further proof that Tboli speakers distinguish it from the other vowel of regular length.

So for consistency in all published materials, the short vowel sound a heard between two consonants at the beginning of words is not written:

b <sup>2</sup> tang	written as btang	'to fall'
D²wata	written as Dwata	'God'
k³fung	written as kfung	'dust'
m²nóng	written as mnóng	'to shine'
Teboli	written as Tholi	'Tboli'

#### 1.2.3 Prefixes

Tholi has very few prefixes compared to many other Philippine languages. The pattern for all the prefixes is the same: he-, ke-, se-, ge-, de-, te-, me- and ne-. Since a prefix is attached directly to the beginning of a root word, it is written with a hyphen to show this: me- and ne-.

The vowel in these prefixes is the short  $\partial$  described in section 1.2.2. When prefixed to a root word, there are only a few specific instances where the vowel is retained. In all other cases it is dropped, forming words with the preferred pattern of a double consonant at the beginning of the word.

## 1.2.3.1 The vowel of the prefix is retained

(1) When prefixed to a root word beginning with a double consonant pattern:

ge-	+	blekel	becomes	geblekel	'to accidentally go crosswise' 'cause to be dusty' 'falling'
he-	+	kfung	becomes	hekfung	
ke-	+	btang	becomes	kebtang	
If the initial	consonai	nt is an	h, it becomes	an f when p	refixed with he-, me- or se-:

he-	+	hyu	becomes	<b>he</b> fyu	'to (have someone) repair'
me-	+	hlayam	becomes	<b>mef</b> layam	'to be in trouble'
se-	+	hlós	becomes	seflós	'to continue'

(2) When prefixed to a single syllable root word whose initial consonant is a glottal stop (which is retained). The two examples given are the only members of this class:

me-	+	?él	becomes	<b>me</b> él	'to liquify'
me- `	+	Pis	becomes	meis	'to sic a dog (on someone)'

#### 1.2.3.2 The vowel of the prefix is dropped

In all other cases the vowel of the prefix is dropped, forming the preferred pattern of a double consonant at the beginning of a word.

(1) When prefixed to words which permit a double consonant pattern:

ke-	+	sidek	becomes	<b>k</b> sidek	'badness'
me-	+	ton	becomes	mton	'to see/find'
ne-	+	fét	becomes	nfét	'to tie up (someone, something)'
se-	+	linti	becomes	slinti	'engaged'



There is a variation in the above pattern when the first syllable of the stem is le-, as the l is always dropped:

```
he- + lenck becomes henck 'to cut into small pieces';
'to become quiet'
se- + lebut becomes sebut 'to be angry with each other'
```

(2) When prefixed to stems of two syllables whose initial consonant is a glottal stop (which is dropped when the prefix is added):

```
ge- + <sup>2</sup>afas becomes gafas 'to be able to restrain (someone, something)'
ne- + <sup>2</sup>vlvl becomes nvlvl 'to divide into shares'
```

#### 1.2.4 Infixes

In the above list of prefixes (see sec. 1.2.3), there are two that function as focus markers (see sec. 8): me- and ne-. In certain instances these occur as infixes, i.e., instead of being attached to the beginning of the root word, they are inserted into the word itself, hence they are called infixes. An infix is always inserted following the initial consonant of the word. To show that they are inserted within a word, they are written with a double hyphen: -em-, -em-, -em- and -m-.

As with the prefixes, there are certain instances when the vowel of the infix is retained, but there are many more instances when it is dropped.

## 1.2.4.1 The vowel of the infix is retained

(1) When infixed between double consonants at the beginning of a one-syllable word, the vowel is retained:

blay	+	-em-	becomes	be <b>m</b> lay	'to give'
dket	. +	-em-	becomes	d <b>em</b> ket	'to stick'
hyu	+	-en-	becomes	h <b>en</b> yu	'to repair'
syat	+	-en-	becomes	senyat	'to turn aside'

(2) When infixed into a two-syllable word with *le*- as the first syllable the vowel is retained, but the first vowel of the word is dropped:

lebut	+	-en-	becomes	le <b>n</b> but	'angry'
lemek	+	-en-	becomes	lenmek	'weak'
lenaw	+	-em-	becomes	lemnaw	'green'
lenos	+	-em-	becomes	lemnos	'windu'

## 1.2.4.2 The vowel of the infix is dropped

(1) When infixed into a two-syllable word with a consonant and vowel pattern in the first syllable:

kuli	+	-en-	becomes	k <b>n</b> uli	'to laugh (at something)'
tóbóng	+	-em-	becomes	t <b>m</b> óbóng	'to help'

The only variation to this pattern is when the -em- is infixed to a word with the initial consonant b. Because the m and the b are made in the same place in the mouth, the two sounds tend to blend, and the m replaces the b:

bctek	+	-em-	becomes	metek	'to design' (not bmetek)
bonok	+	-em-	becomes	<b>m</b> onok	'to murder' (not binonok)



But the regular pattern is retained with the -en-:

betek + -en- becomes bnetek 'to design (something)'
bonok + -en- becomes bnonok 'to murder (someone)'

(2) When infixed into a two-syllable word with a double consonant pattern at the beginning, if the second consonant is an *l*, it is dropped:

hlowon + -en- becomes hnowon 'to tease (someone)'
(not helnowon)

klintang + -em- becomes kmintang 'to play the klintang instrument'
(not kemlintang)

When the first of the two consonants is a b, the same blending of the -em- and b occurs as described above:

blotik + -em- becomes mlotik 'to be starry' (not bemlotik)
blutut + -em- becomes mlutut 'to be pregnant' (not bemlutut)

With the -en-, the b is retained but the l is still dropped:

blotik + -en- becomes bnotik 'for the stars to be many' (not benlotik)

blutut + -en- becomes bnutut 'for the stomach to be large' (not benlutut)

#### 1.3 Pronunciation

### 1.3.1 Preference for two-syllable words

As can be seen from the above patterns, there is one basic principle which runs throughout the language: Tboli prefer two-syllable words, so they shorten their words to fit this pattern by regularly dropping two things: (1) The short vowel sound which occurs between a double consonant pattern at the beginning of the words and in all the prefixes, and (2) The light sound of the consonant l (described in the previous section).

### **1.3.2 Stress**

Stress is on the final syllable of the root word, and it does not shift even when a pronoun suffix is attached to the word. A pronoun is never stressed. In the following examples, the stressed syllable is in bold print:

eted 'to deliver (someone or something)'

Etedu yem ngà. I'll deliver the child.

mung 'to go along with (someone or something)'
Mungi do. You come along with me.

The only exception to this rule are four words which have the e vowel at the end of the word. In these words, the stress is on the first syllable. The examples given are the only members of this class:

bede 'but' ngunte 'I don't know'
déke 'possibly/likely' yake 'good if'



Whenever an *l* is the final sound in an utterance, it is often dropped. But if a pronoun or another word follows, the *l* can be heard again.

#### 2. Nouns

There are two types of nouns in Tboli, regular and derived. The regular nouns are the root words which have no affix at all. The derived nouns are those formed by adding the prefix ke-/k- to either a verb or an adjective to form a noun.

#### 2.1 Regular nouns

Regular nouns are the unaffixed root words used to name a person, place or thing. They may be either a common noun or a proper noun:

gunù 'house'
kudà 'horse'
libun 'girl'
Mà Flidu 'father of Flidu (term of address)'
Mutung 'Matutum mountain'

There is another class of root words which is not so easily recognized as the above examples. These are words that can function either as a noun or a verb, but are most frequently used as verbs:

'to hold (something)' ogot 'that which is used to hold (something)' ogot Hold it with that sturdy holder. **Ogotem** du yem ogot mbegel. Ø-hold.you,sG it that holder sturdy ofok 'to chop down (something)' ofok 'that which is used to chop down (something)' Chop it down with Big Father's chopper. Mà du yem ofok Bong. Olokem Ø-chop.down.you,sG it that chopper Father Big

#### 2.1.1 Pluralization of common nouns

Some common nouns are understood to be basically singular, others to be basically plural.

#### 2.1.1.1 Singular nouns

To pluralize a singular noun, the word kem is added just before the noun:

Singular		Plura!		
gunù	'a house'	ke <b>m</b> gunù	'houses'	
kudà	'a horse'	kem kudà	'horses'	
libun	'a girl'	kem libun	'girls'	

#### 2.1.1.2 Collective nouns

Collective nouns are considered to be basically plural, so it is incorrect to use *kem* with them. Since they can also be used as singular, this type of noun will be noted as beir; both singular and plural in the dictionary:

blotik 'star/stars' gulom 'ant/ants'
doun 'leaf/leaves' soging 'banana/bananas'

#### 2.1.2 Pluralization of personal names

A personal name may be pluralized in order to include those in close association with the individual named. To do so, the third person plural pronoun *le* 'they' is added before the name (see sec. 4.1.1):



Omin Υê Bong gna. and then they Motner Big Ø-go. ahead And then Big Mother and her companions went ahead.

Wen le Yê. there is they Mother There is Mother and the rest of the family.

There is an interesting feature in Tboli when more than one personal name is used as either actor (see sec. 8.2) or experiencer (see sec. 8.1). They do not use 'and' to connect the two names as is done in English. Instead the appropriate number and plural pronoun is used just before the name:

Kasi funen. Lewu me two we.Ex Kasi owner.it lit., We two Kasi are the owners. nat., Kasi and I are the owners.

Tey sidek kbitil me lewu me INT bad k-hunger our two we,EX Alun lit., Very bad our hunger we two Alun. nat., Alun and I were really very hungry.

Gunun deng nù tahu blóng Dimas? se where it PT Ø-to be EMPH true division you, PL Dimas

Where is the true boundary between you and Dimas?

If two or more individuals are named, it results in a long noun phrase which they do not like to use in the actor position following the verb. Rather, the plural pronoun le 'they' is used in this position, but the specific individuals are named at the end of the sentence with the appropriate number and plural pronoun included before the names:

Nukét le silà **le** Gadu lewu le n-pick they corn they Gadu two they Fludi

lit., They picked corn Gadu they two Fludi. nat., Both Gadu and Fludi picked corn.

Sulék le dini le Fining tlu Timud gu s-once they from here they Fining three they Timud lit., Once they came here, Fining, they

Ngà Bun.

three Timud, Ngà Bun. nat., Once Fining, Timud and Ngà Bun came here.

Ngà Bun Mógów le ... lewu le tuha login,

two they old man.her third they that

lit., They went...they two her husband, they three their child. nat., The woman, her husband and

ngà le. child their

they

m-go

their child went.

#### 2.1.3 Possessives

Possession, ownership or relationship are indicated by either a possessive pronoun or by the relative position of the possessed noun and the possessor.

getlu le

#### 2.1.3.1 Possessive pronouns

There are two sets of pronouns which are used to show possession, the -u set and the dou set (see Figure 1). The -u set occurs right after the noun it possesses, with the singular pronouns attached to the noun and the plurals written as separate words:

> gunue**m** house.your,sG

'your house'



kudà le 'their horse'
horse their

libunu 'my sister'
-ister.my

tniba ye 'your ricefield'
-n-ricefield your,PL

When the pronoun from the dou set is used as the possessive, it always occurs before the noun it possesses, and its function is to emphasize the ownership by implying a negative contrast with another individual, 'my sister (not his)':

'my sister' dou libun sister my gunù kóm 'your house' your,SG house kudà 'their horse' kui horse their 'your ricefield' tniba kuy -n-ricefield your,PL

## 2.1.3.2 Possessive nouns

When a noun is used as the possessor, it always occurs after the noun being possessed. There is no marker equivalent to the Tagalog ni or ng before the possessive noun:

gunù house	<i>Mà</i> (of)Father	'Father's <sup>2</sup> house'
<i>ikong</i> tail	<i>kudà</i> (of)norse	'horse's tail'
ketej roof	<i>gunù</i> (of)house	'roof of the house'
<i>kudà</i> horse	<i>Walan</i> (of)Walan	'Walan's horse'

The possessor in the above examples may itself be possessed:

ikong kudau 'the tail of my horse'
tail (of)horse.my

ketef gunù Mà 'the roof of Father's house'
roof (of)house (of)Father

#### 2.1.4 Diminutive

A diminutive is formed by the noun  $ng\dot{a}$  'child' occurring before another noun. It diminishes the meaning of the word it modifies:

ngà benwu 'a little country'
child country

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> When speaking of one's own mother or father, the possessive pronoun 'my' is implied; it is redundant to include it.



<i>ngà</i> child	bnotu wrapped.lunch	'a little wrapped lunch'
ngà child	<i>lowig</i> shelter	'a little shelter'

#### 2.2 Derived nouns

Derived nouns are verbs or adjectives that have become nouns by adding the prefix ke-/k- to them. There are also certain nouns which occur with this prefix. These derived nouns always occur with a possessive:

$$k-+$$
  $des$   $+$   $-u$   $=$   $kdesu$ 

pain  $+$  -my my.painfulness

 $k-+$   $des$  mata  $+$  -hu  $=$   $kdes$  matahu

pain eye  $+$  -my the.painfulness.of.my.eyes

There are two kinds of derived nouns: (1) Those derived from adjectives become abstract nouns, and they express the quality of the adjective from which it is derived. (An English example of an abstract noun is the word 'goodness' which has been derived by adding 'ness' to the adjective 'good'.) (2) Those derived from verbs or nouns become gerunds, which are words that are used as nouns in a sentence, but have the basic meaning of an action. (An English example of a gerund is the word 'going' which has been derived by adding 'ing' to the verb 'go'.)

#### 2.2.1 Abstract nouns

An abstract noun differs from a regular noun in that a regular noun indicates something which can be touched. An abstract noun cannot be touched. Rather it indicates the quality of something or someone. It is formed by adding the ke-/k- prefix to an adjective:

k- +	<i>des</i> painful	+	- <i>en</i> -his/her/it	=	<i>kdesen</i> p <b>ainfulness</b> .it
<b>k-</b> +	<i>gel</i> hard	+	- <i>en</i> -his/her/it	=	kgelen hardness.it
ke- +	<i>hyu</i> good	+	-hen -his/her/it	=	<i>kehyuhen</i> goodness.his/her

Deng ton me ne yem kehyuhen. already \( \theta\)-see we,EX now that ke-good.its

Already we have seen its goodness.

Gel mtón ket ne udi yem kdes matahu. always m-decrease each now little that k-pain cye.my

The painfulness of my eyes is decreasing little by little.

#### 2.2.2 Gerunds

A gerund is formed by adding the ke-ik- prefix to a verb or a noun.

#### 2.2.2.1 Ke-/k- + verb

The gerund functions as a noun in the sentence, but its meaning is always the action of the verb from which it is derived:

$$k$$
- +  $fuk$  +  $me$  =  $kf \, \iota k$   $me$  'our washing clothes'  $\emptyset$ -wash.clothes our,EX washing.clothes our,EX



k- 
$$+k\delta l$$
 +  $-u$  =  $kk\delta lu$  'my arriving'

ke-  $+dyo$  +  $le$  =  $kedyo$   $le$  'their bathing'

ke-  $+hl\delta s$  +  $-em$  =  $kehl\delta sem$  'your proceeding'

Tey gel kedyo me ket kdaw. very always ke-bathe our every day

Our bathing/swimming was for a long time every day.

Là mimot -en kfuk me.
not use up -it k-wash.clothes our

Our washing clothes wasn't all done.

In the above examples of gerunds, a derived noun with a possessive pronoun is the subject of the sentence. The literal English translation is not very clear. In a more natural English translation, the possessive pronoun functions as the actor of the sentence, and the derived noun functions as a verb:

lit., Our bathing was for a long time every day. nat., We bathed/swam for a long time every day.

lit., Our washing clothes wasn't all done. nat., We didn't get all our clothes washed.

## 2.2.2.2 Ke-/k- + noun

Deng deng kdadu me.
PT PT k-plow our,EX

lit., Our plowing is already finished. nat., We have already finished plowing.

Tcy sidek kegnómu du yem khaliu. INT bad ke-feel.my it that k-wound.my

I'm feeling badly (because of) my being wounded.

ani hyu kehlafus le ebè tniba so.that good ke-morning their DIR,LOC -n-ricefield

'so that they will be early morning (going) to the ricefield'

## 3. Modifiers

There are two types of modifiers in Tboli, adjectives and adverbs.

## 3.1 Adjectives

Adjectives are words used to describe a person, place or thing, hence they are often called descriptives. Just as there are two types of nouns in Tboli, so there are two types of adjectives, regular and derived. The regular adjectives are root words which have no affix at all. The derived adjectives are those formed by adding an affix from the *me*- set to certain root words.



#### 3.1.1 Regular adjectives

Most adjectives in Tboli are unaffixed root words:

bong	'big'	lomi	'new'
gna	'before'	sidek	'bad'
huli	'after'	són	'only'
hyu	'good'	tahu	'true'
ket	'each'	tuha	'old'
kinî	'hot'	udì	'little'
lehen	'skinnv'	ukol	'short'

## 3.1.2 Derived adjectives

Derived adjectives are root words which have become adjectives by adding an affix from the me-set (me-, m-, -em- and -m-).

#### 3.1.2.1 Me- set affix used with nouns

#### 3.1.2.2 Me- set affix used with verbs

me- + 
$$btik = mebtik$$
 'quick'  $\emptyset$ -get.up

me- +  $kteng = mekteng$  'direct'  $\emptyset$ -pull

#### 3.1.2.3 Me- set affix used with adjectives

Certain adjectives never occur without the m- prefix, i.e., they cannot be separated into m- + ayuk or m- + oni:

mayuk 'far' moni 'nearby'

## 3.1.3 Distribution of adjectives

Adjectives may occur in two basic positions, either following the noun or preceding it.

(1) Those that occur following the noun

The majority of the adjectives are descriptives and occur after the noun they modify:



él water	tnaw cold	'cold water'
<i>kudà</i> horse	bong big	'big horse'
<i>Mà</i> father	<i>Bong</i> big	'Big Father (term of address showing respect)'
<i>suk</i> knife	<i>tahà</i> long	'long knife'
tau person	<i>ukol</i> short	'short person'
<i>Yê</i> mother	<i>Huli</i> last	'Last Mother (term of address for last wife of father)'

## (2) Those that occur preceding the noun

The following adjectives occur before the noun they modify and function to limit it:

<i>dê</i> many	ngà child	'many children'
dumu oth <b>er</b>	tau people	'other people'
<i>kdê</i> all	<i>ngà</i> children	'all the children'
<i>ket</i> each	<i>tau</i> person	'each person'
<i>lomi</i> new	<i>tau</i> person	'young person'
<i>són</i> only	tau person	'only person'
<i>tehe</i> previous	funen owner.it	'previous owner'

## (3) Those that occur either before or after the noun

There are a few adjectives that may occur either before or after the noun with no apparent change of meaning:

bong tau/tau bong	'big person'
gna tau/tau gna	'former people/person'
tahu lan/lan tahu	'true path'

There are other adjectives that may occur in both positions, but with a change of meaning:

<i>libun</i>	<i>tuha</i>	'old woman'	<i>tuha</i>	<i>libun</i>	'wife'
female	old		old	female	(term of address)
<i>logi</i>	<i>tuha</i>	'old man'	<i>tuha</i>	<i>logi</i>	'husband'
male	old		old	male	(term of address)



dumu another ngà 'another child' child

ngà child dumuhu companion.my 'the child of my companion'

## 3.1.4 Number of adjectives used in sequence

Usually only one adjective occurs following a noun, but there are a few cases where two adjectives may occur in sequence:

libun kogò

nubón

'a bent over, white haired woman'

woman bent.over white.haired

bong kwasa ulu person big rich

'a man of authority who is rich'

A more natural combination is to have one adjective from the class that occurs before the noun used to modify a noun phrase:

ngà kafal udì

child ship little

'a very little ship'

Tholi són tau

only person Tboli

'only a person who is a Tboli'

tche benwu gnahen

'the former country of olden times'

former country before.it

## 3.1.5 A further function of bong and udi

The two words bong 'big' and udi 'little' may be used to modify an adjective. The word bong is used to increase the meaning of the adjective being modified and occurs preceding it:

> 'very good' bong hyu big good lamang 'a very wide area' pong wide big legen 'a very long time' bong long.time big bong mayuk 'very far' big far sidek 'very bad' bong big bad

The word udi is used to diminish the actual meaning of the adjective being modified and occurs following it:

> bong udì 'a little bit big' little big lamang udì 'a little bit wide' little wide 'a little bit long' legen udì long.time little



<i>mayuk</i> far	udi little	'a little bit far'
<i>tahà</i> Iong	udî little	'a little bit long'

#### 3.2 Adverbs

Adverbs modify verbs, adjectives and other adverbs. In Tboli there are a large number of words included in this category. Some indicate tense. Others indicate the duration or frequency of the action. Others express a desire or wish in connection with the action. Still others limit the action or emphasize it or intensify it.

These words can also be divided into two classes, those that occur before the word they modify, and those that occur following it.

## 3.2.1 Those occurring before the word they modify

distant future

past tense

The majority of the adverbs modify verbs, and they occur before the verb. Whenever the verb uses a pronoun from the -e set as either actor or experiencer of the sentence, the adverb always attracts the pronoun away from its normal position following the verb:

<i>Bitil</i> Ø-hungry	+	-е. -I		= Bitile.	I'm hungry.
Deng PT	+	-e -1	<i>bitil</i> . Ø-hungry	= Denge bitil.	I'm already hungry.

#### 3.2.1.1 Tense markers

angat

deng

There is a class of adverbs functioning as tense markers which occur before the verb. These also attract the set of pronouns functioning as either a focused actor or experiencer:

móyón

recent past

near future

cles	action completed beforehand	tehe tolo	remote past present continuative
Tolo le mken.			They are still eating.
Angat le kini.			They will be hot.

The past tense deng may be used with the appropriate tense markers to add the sense of a time of action completed. When this occurs, the -e set of pronouns used as a focused actor or experiencer is attracted to deng:

Deng deng. P1 Ø finish	It's already linished.
Deng móyón gungó. rr-g almost noon	It's already almost noon.
Deng lomi lemwót, PT-B recent -ein-leave	He/she already left just recently.



lemwót. Deng le tehe they previous -em-leave They already left long ago.

Deng eles niten. PT in.advance -n-bring.he He/she has already in advance brought it along.

#### 3.2.1.2 Time of action

There is another class of adverbs which indicate the time the action took place. These always attract the -u set of pronouns which function as nonfocused actor:

gu laan igò	'before' 'while'	luk omin	'besides that' 'then'
klawi	'as long as'	sónmò	'always'
kogol	'after'	uni	'immediately'
lel e	'at the same time'		

tolo mken, tódô tonu. while.I still m-food just see.I While I was still eating, I immediately saw (it).

Tolo lelu dmadu. still continue.I m-plow I'm still plowing.

Sónmou tendo dmadu. always.I continue m-plow I'm always continually plowing.

#### 3.2.1.3 Duration of action

There is another class of adverbs indicating the duration of the action of the verb. These also attract the -e set of pronouns which function as either a focused actor or experiencer:

bud	'again'	sal	'always'
gel	'usually/always'	sana	'already'
hanà	'still'	tendo	'continually'
hlun	'temporarily'	tódô	'immediately'
kendel	'anickly'		

Tódóe mlóy. immediate.I m-run Immediately I ran.

Bude mlóy.

Again I ran.

again.I m-run

The adverb gel 'usually/always' can be modified by a wide range of adverbs from all the various classes:

nmò le. Deng tehe previous always n-do they PT

Previously they always did that.

Tódô gel htinof kun. immediate-# always h-quiet it.is.said He immediately always becomes quiet it is said.



Teye gel hligal.

INT,I always h-happy

I'm always very happy.

## 3.2.1.4 Intensity

There is another commonly used class of adverbs which intensify the verb or adjective they modify (tey/ali 'very' and hol 'really'):

Holi mlóy!

Run fast!

INT,you m-run

Tey mlóy.

He ran very fast.

INT,8 m-run

Alì sidek udélen.

His/her words were very bad.

INT bad word.his/her

Hol tahu udélen.

His/her words are really true.

INT true word.his/her

Tey is the adverb most widely used to modify verbs, adjectives, other adverbs and even nouns:

Tey bong.

It's very big.

Tey gel hendemu u.

I'm always thinking very much about

you.

INT always -en-think.I you

It's a very high mountain.

INT,6 mountain

Tev bulul.

#### 3.2.1.5 Wish or desire

There is another class of adverbs which express a wish or desire in connection with the action. ( $T\hat{o}$  is the only one that attracts the pronoun actor away from its normal position following the verb.)

déke 'likely/probably' tô 'would like/about to'
dô 'approximately/about' yake 'good if'
kô 'maybe/perhaps'

Toé mung kul mosol.
would.like.I m-go.along them downhill

I'd like to go down with them.

Déke deng kól dini.

It's likely he has already arrived here.

likely PT,Ø Ø-arrive here

Perhaps you will get lost.

Kô lanahi.
perhaps Ø-lost.you,SG



#### 3.2.1.6 Limitation

There is a class of adverbs which modify adjectives. They add a sense of limitation to the adjective being modified:

> 'merely/only' malù 'somewhat' olo 'just/only' tek olò 'at least/only'

Only just Mother is going. Tek són Yê mógów.

Only just Mother m-go

It's somewhat a little hard. Malù ıngel udì. somewhat hard little

Give me only a little Olon udi blayem do. only.it little Ø-give.you,SG me

The banana is somewhat ripc. Malù mélél yem soging. somewhat yellow that banana

## 3.2.2 Those occurring after the word they modify

## (1) Indicating time

There is another class of adverbs indicating time which occur after the verb:

kedeng 'by and by/later' 'DIR, early' eginu 'just a moment ago/just now' koni (of the same day) 'now' ni/ne 'yet' he

We just now finished eating. mken koni. Deng me

we,EX m-food just.now

They will arrive by and by. kdeng. Kól le Ø-arrive they by.and.by

## (2) Indicating emphasis

There are three particles used for emphasis, gi, se, and dé. They occur following the word they emphasize, and there seems to be almost no limitation as to what they can emphasize:

No! I definitely do not want to stay móyô tagak. là kóe Là gi, behind. NEG EMPH NEG definite.I m-like/want stay.behind

What a waste! Kamaen se.

That one is good! Yó để

that EMPH good

waste.it EMPH



## 4. Noun substitutes: personal pronouns

There are four pronoun sets in Tboli, each set with its own specific functions. The -e set and the ou set function only as substitutes for the noun participants that are in focus in the sentence; the -u set and the dou set function only as substitutes for the noun participants that are not in focus. So the four sets can be divided into two groups, focused and nonfocused pronouns. Figure 1 displays these four pronoun sets.

	Focused Pronouns	Nonfocused Pronouns		
	-E set		-U set	
-e/-he	T	-u/hu/-w	'I/my/mine'	
-i/hi	'you,sg'	-em/-hem/-m	'you,SG' 'your,SG'	
Ø	'he/she/it'	-en/-hen/-n	'he/she/it' 'his/her/its'	
tekuy	'we all,in'	tekuy	'we all,in' 'our,in'	
me	'we not you,EX'	me	'we not you,EX' 'ours not yours,EX'	
te	'we two,DU'	te	'we two,DU' 'our,DU'	
ye	'you,PL'	ye	'you,PL' 'your,PL'	
ie	'they'	le	'they/their'	
	Ou set		Dou set	
ou/o	'I/me'	dou/do	'me/my/mine'	
uu/u	ʻyou,sg' ʻyou,sg'	kóm	'you/your'	
du	'he/she/it' 'him/her/its'	kun	'his/her/its'	
tekuy	'we all,in' 'us all,in'	tekuy	'us all,IN' 'our,IN'	
mi	'we not you,EX' 'us not you,EX'	kum	'us not you,EX' 'ours not yours,EX'	
tu	'we two,DU' 'us two,DU'	kut	'us two,DU' 'our,DU'	
ye	'you,PL' 'you,PL'	kuy	'you,PL' 'your,PL'	
le	'they/them'	kul	'them/their'	

Figure 1. Personal pronouns



### 4.1 Focused pronoun sets

#### 4.1.1 The -e set

As can be seen from Figure 1, the singular pronouns from the focused -e set are a single vowel (-e or -i). In writing these, they are attached to the verb itself.

Since 'he/she/it' is indicated by an absence of a pronoun, this is marked with a  $\emptyset$  on the chart and in the glosses. Whenever the negative  $l\hat{a}$  occurs with verbs which ordinarily would use this pronoun, the -cn from the nonfocused -u set is used instead:

Mken. He/she/it is cating. m-food-# Là mkenen. He/she/it is not eating. m-food.he neg He/she/it is wounded. Hnalì. n-wound-8 hnalien. He/she/it is not wounded. Là n-wound.he neg He/she/it is ahead. Gna. Ø-ahead-Ø He/she/it is not ahead. Là gnahen. neg Ø-ahead.he

When the singular pronouns -e or -i are attached to a root word ending with a vowel, they become -he or -hi:

ma 'to get some'

mahe 'I'll get some...'

mahi 'You,SG get some...'

The plural pronouns all begin with a consonant, making them seem more like separate words. Since they can be used in more than one position in a sentence (see sec. 2.1.2), all the plural pronouns are written as separate words.

Mken tekuy ne.

Let us all eat now.

## 4.1.1.1 Focused experiencer or actor<sup>3</sup>

The -e set of focused pronouns functions either as focused experiencer or focused actor. As an experiencer, the pronoun substitutes for the one experiencing the state or condition expressed by the verb. As an actor, it substitutes for the one doing the action of the verb.

As an experiencer, it occurs with stative verbs using an affix from either the *me*-set or the *ne*-set, but often it occurs with verbs using no affix at all. As an actor, it occurs only with verbs using an affix from the *me*-set.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The functions of pronouns cannot be described without mentioning the focus of the sentence in which they are used. So in this chapter the five types of focus are briefly mentioned, but a full description is given in section 8.

(1) Focused experiencer

Gnahi.

You go ahead.

**B**-ahead.you,sG

Mvak.

He/she is embarrassed.

m-embarrass-8

Hnalie.

I have cut myself.

-n-wound.I

(2) Focused actor

Mkeni

bélê me.

You eat with us.

m-food.you,sG PREP us,EX

Mken tekuy ne.

Let us all eat now.

m-food we,IN now

In a sentence where certain adverbs modify the verb, these adverbs attract the pronoun experiencer or actor to itself from the normal position following the verb:

Dengi

You are already ahead.

already.you,sg &-ahead

Tolo

myak.

He is still embarrassed.

still-Ø

m-embarrass

Lomihe

hnalì.

I recently cut myself.

recent.I

n-wound

#### 4.1.2 The *ou* set

The ou set may occur in the position before the verb (which implies a contrast with some other person or thing), or it may occur in the position following the actor. In the preverb position it functions as experiencer, actor, goal or object. In the postverb position it functions as either goal or object.

#### 4.1.2.1 Contrasted experiencer in preverb position

As the contrasted experiencer in the preverb position, the ou set of pronouns is used with stative verbs. Stative verbs are often found with no affix at all, or they may use an affix from either the me- set (see sec. 9.3.1) or the ne- set (see sec. 9.3.2):

Uи

huli.

You (not someone else) be the one to be last.

you

**B**-last

Lu

matù.

They (not someone else) are the ones who won

they Du

m-win

lenekef.

He (not someone else) is the one who has a cold.

-en-to.have.a.cold he

## 4.1.2.2 Contrasted actor in preverb position

As the contrasted actor in preverb position, the ou set of pronouns is used with verbs marked with an affix from the me- set indicating an AFS (see sec. 8.2):

Ou se mton kóm koni.

I'm the one who saw you just now.

EMPH m-see you just.now



Du mit yem snafang. he m-bring that gun He's the one who brought the gun.

### 4.1.2.3 Focused object

As the focused objec, the ou set of pronouns function as the one directly involved in the action of the verb. It usually occurs following a nonfocused goal, but if a goal does not occur in the sentence, it follows the actor. It may also occur in the position before the verb.

As a focused object, it occurs with verbs marked with an affix from the ne- set or with those with no affix at all.

(1) Object focus signalled by ne- set affix

Gel nbô Mà ou. always n-carry.on.back Father me Father always carried me on his back.

Ou se gel nbô Mà.

I EMPH always n-carry.on.back Father

I'm the one Father always carried on his back.

(2) Object focus with no affix

Tonu uu koni.

6-see.I you just.now

I saw you just now.

Uu se tonu kon

Uu se tonu koni. you EMPH B-see.I just.now You are the one I saw just now.

#### 4.1.2.4 Focused goal

As a focused goal, the ou set of pronouns function as the one to whom the action of the verb is directed. It occurs either in the position following the actor or in the preverb position. It always occurs with verbs marked with an affix from the ne- set (see sec. 8.4):

Nkay 1e u bigu. n-serve they you winnowing.tray They served (the food) to you on a winnowing tray.

Uu nkay le bigu. you n-serve they winnowing.tray You are the one they served on a winnowing tray.

#### 4.2 Nonfocused pronoun sets

The -u set and the dou set are the nonfocused pronoun sets. As can be seen from the chart at the beginning of this chapter, the nonfocused -u set and the focused -e set are very similar. The plural pronouns are identical, written as separate words in both sets. The singular pronouns of the -e set are vowels; the singular pronouns of the -u set all begin with a vowel, so the singular pronouns from both sets are attached directly to the verb when writing them. When the verb ends in a vowel, these singular pronouns from both sets add the consonant h before the vowel of the pronoun. The following are examples of this from the -u set. Note further that when this occurs the pronouns may be abbreviated to a single final consonant:

nawa nawa**hu**/nawaw nawa**hem**/nawa**m** nawa**hen**/nawa**n**  'breath'
'my breath'
'your breath'
'his/her breath'



#### 4.2.1 The -u set

The -u set of pronouns function as a nonfocused actor, a nonfocused goal with the preposition  $b\acute{e}l\acute{e}$  or as a possessive pronoun.

#### 4.2.1.1 Nonfocused actor

As a nonfocused actor, the position of the -u set of pronouns always follow the verb. It occurs with all the verbs used for OFS, GFS or IFS, whether these verbs are marked with an affix from the ne- set or whether they occur with no affix at all.

(1) With an object focus verb

Gel nwitu yem kudà lem bulul. always n-bring. I that horse in mountain I always bring that horse (up) into the mountains.

Eteden Blinun lem bulul.

6-deliver.he Blinun in mountain

He delivered Blinun (up) into the mountains.

(2) With a goal focus verb

Yake benlay ye o bulón huli. good.if -en-give you,PL me month after Good if you give me next month (off).

(3) With an instrument focus verb

Toolem du tnikel yem mimetem.

You string your necklace with thread.

#-string.you,sG it thread that necklace.your,sG

## 4.2.1.2 Nonfocused goal

The -u set of pronouns is always used with the preposition  $b\acute{e}l\acute{e}$  when it functions as a nonfocused goal.  $B\acute{e}l\acute{e}$  has a wide range of meaning. In English it would be expressed by using the prepositions from, with, by, to, at, among, etc. In Tboli it occurs with verbs signalling experiencer focus, actor focus and object focus.

As a nonfocused goal, the preposition and its pronoun usually occur immediately following the experiencer of actor in a sentence, but if these are in preverb position, they occur following the verb.

(1) With an experiencer focus verb

Tlu hunges ken nù béléen. three bundle food Ø-to.be PREP,him Three bundles of food are with him.

Slób béléu bè gunuhu dmadu. Ø-stop.by-Ø PREP,me LOC place.my m-plow He stopped by me where I was plowing.

(2) With an actor focus verb

Mdómi bélê le haya. m-borrow.you,SG PREP them tomorrow

Borrow from them tomorrow.

Hemyuhi bélê le sfolò. -em-good.you,SG PREP them ten You put ten away for them.

Laen dù kmahì bélê le.

NEG,it left -m-salt PREP them

None among them has salt to use.



(3) With an object focus verb

Sidek nmò le béléen.

It was bad what they did to him.

bad n-do they PREP, him

Gefet dini tinok ye **bélê me**.

It reach here to us what you requested.

reach here 6-request you,PL PREP us

### 4.2.1.3 Nonemphasized possessive

The -u set also functions as a nonemphasized possessive following nouns, either regular or derived:

kógówen

'his going'

k-go.his

kudau

'my horse'

horse.my

kvak

le

'their embarrassment'

k-embarrassment their

sila**em** 

'your corn'

corn.your,SG

#### 4.2.2 The dou set

The dou set of pronouns functions as a nonfocused goal, a nonfocused object, an emphatic possessive or as a reiteration of an experiencer, an actor or an object at the end of a sentence for emphasis.

### 4.2.2.1 Nonfocused object

A pronoun from the dou set functions as a nonfocused object with verbs signalling either actor focus or instrument focus. It only occurs in an AFS when the actor is in preverb position.

(1) With an actor focus verb

Dwata semgyok kuy.

May God take care of you all.

God -em-care.for you,PL

(2) With an instrument focus verb

Bulungu

du4 yem bulung Yê

I treated her with Mother's medicine.

g-treat.with.medicine.I her that medicine Mother

A possible reason for not using the pronoun kun is that there is also a particle kun indicating reported speech with which it could be confused. This particle indicates that the speaker is not a witness of the event he is talking about or the originator of the opinion he is expressing, but that he has heard it from someone else and is simply reporting what he heard:

Lii kun.

It is said to be taboo.

ff-taboo-ff it.is.said



When kun 'he/she/it' from the dou set is needed, the equivalent pronoun du is used from the focused ou set (see Figure 1).

Tehe benwu gnan kun wen wolu tau. It is said that in the previous world, former country before it it.is.said there is eight people there were eight people.

## 4.2.2.2 Nonfocused goal

As a nonfocused goal, the dou set of pronouns functions as the one for whom the action is done, the one who will benefit from the action. It occurs with verbs signalling either actor focus or object focus.

The dual form kut 'us two' functions to add an element of politeness to a request.

(1) With an actor focus verb

Hemyuhi kut sfolò. You put ten away for us, please.
-em-good.you,SG us,DU,(polite) ten

(2) With an object focus verb

Henken ye do ni kem ngà. You feed these children for me.
-en-food you, PL me this PL child

Sfunges ken blay le kum. They gave us one wrapped (bundle) of s-wrapper food \( \mathcal{B}\)-give they us,EX

## 4.2.2.3 Nonfocused object with a negative

A pronoun from the ou set is always used as a focused object in an OFS. But whenever a negative is added to the sentence, a pronoun from the nonfocused dou set replaces the pronoun from the focused ou set:

Hnebelu uu. I looked for you.
-n-look.for.I you,sG

Là hnebelu kóm. I didn't look for you.

NEG -n-look.for.I you,SG

Nafasu lu. I held them back. n-hold.back.I them

Là nafasu kul. I didn't hold them back.

NEG n-hold.back.I them

## 4.2.2.4 Emphasized experiencer, actor or object

An added emphasis is given to an actor, an experiencer or an object by reiterating it at the end of the sentence with a pronoun from the *dou* set. Oftentimes the emphasis particle se occurs immediately preceding the pronoun.

(1) With an experiencer focus verb

Tódô biang se kun. He just fell as for him. just-Ø Ø-fall EMPH him

Nungel le se kul. They are foolish as for them.

n-foolish they EMPH as.for.them



(?) With an actor focus verb

Mkene soging dou. m-food.I banana me

I'm eating a banana as for me.

(3) With an object focus verb

Là kô henyu le du se kul NEG certain -en-good they it EMPH them They certainly did not put it away as for them.

Là kò tulónu du dou. NEG certain #-tell.I it as.for.me I certainly did not tell it as for me.

## 4.2.2.5 Contrasted possessive

The pronoun from the dou set always occurs before the noun it possesses, whether it is a regular noun or a derived noun. In this position it implies a negated contrast with another individual for clarification. 'mine (not his)':

Gel kem de onuk. hinum ye

Always give my chickens water to drink.

always h-give.a.drink you,PL PL my chicken

Deng hnagiu kul kmò. h-study.I their k-to.do I have already studied their doings.

## 4.3 Display of pronoun functions

Figure 2 shows the different functions of the four sets of pronouns in Tboli as described in this section:



	Pronoun set	Function	Position	Verb affix
	-е	actor	following verb	me-
Focused sets		experiencer	following verb	me-, ne-, Ø
rocused sets		actor	before verb	me-
	ou	experiencer	before verb	me-, ne-, Ø
		object	before verb, or following goal*	ne-, Ø
		goal	before verb, or following actor	ne-
	-u	actur	following verb	ne-, Ø
		goal (with bélê)	following actor	me-, ne-, Ø
Non-		possessive	following noun	
focused sets	dou	emphasis: actor experiencer object	end of sentence	me- me-, ne-, Ø ne-, Ø
		object object	following goal* following actor	me- ne-, Ø
		goal	following actor	me-, ne-, Ø
		possessive (emphatic)	before noun	

Figure 2. Functions of personal pronouns

## 5. Noun substitutes: demonstrative pronouns

There are three sets of demonstrative pronouns in Tboli, the *ni* set, the *nim* set and the *dini* set. Each set has four demonstratives which indicate relative distance of the items spoken about to the participants in a conversation. The distance may be in terms of space, time or thought.

(1) The ni set 'that (far)' 'this' ni tu yó 'that (near)' yи 'that (very far)' (2) The nun set nim/ni kem 'this/these' tum/tu kem 'that/those (far)' 'that/those (near)' 'that/those (very far)' yem/yó kem yum/yu kem (3) The dini set 'there (far)' dini 'here' ditu 'there (near)' dyu 'there (very far)' dyó



<sup>\*</sup>If the goal does not occur in the sentence, the object follows the actor.

'This' is close to the speaker, usually closer than to the hearer. 'That (near)' is a short distance from the speaker, often nearer to the hearer. 'That (far)' is far from both the speaker and hearer. 'That (very far)' is even farther from both of them.

A demonstrative plus a noun forms a noun phrase that functions to specify or single out a certain person, thing, place or time already referred to, or it may substitute for it (see sec. 6.2.4).

#### 5.1 The ni set

The *ni* set of demonstrative pronouns functions as a substitute for a specific participant which is in focus in a sentence. It may also substitute for location or time.

## 5.1.1 As a substitute for a focused participant in a sentence

As can be seen in the examples that follow, the demonstrative refers to something already mentioned in the immediate situation, something already known to both the speaker and the hearer.

(1) Object

Yó nitem kut.

That is what you can bring for us.

that n-bring.you,SG us,DU(polite)

Ke yó nmoen, hensalà le. if that n-do.he h-en-sin they

If that is what he does, they will fine him.

Deng dsù Mà du yó koni.
PT Ø-offer Father it that just.now

Father offered that (to the spirits) just

(2) Comment of nonverbal clause

Ni ngaen. this child.her This is her child.

Yó desen, nolos. that sickness.its n-to.wither What its sickness is, it is withered.

Ni se kul bulung bitil. this EMPH their medicine hungry This indeed is their medicine for hunger.

#### 5.1.2 As a substitute for a location

When used as a substitute for a location, the ni set usually occurs with the preposition  $b\hat{e}$  functioning as a location marker, but it can occur without it.

(1) With bè

Deng kmoen se silà dnadu bè tu?
PT k-do.it EMPH corn -n-plow LOC there

How is the corn there in the plowed field doing?

Mahil miwól libun bè yó. casy m-to.court girl LOC that

It is easy to court a girl there.

(2) Without bè

Ne yó angat gunuhu tıniba kdeng. And that FT place.my -m-ricefield later And that is where I will make a ricefield later.



Tu tonoken.

There is his land.

## 5.1.3 As a substitute for a time word

When substituting for a certain time, a ni set demonstrative may be used alone, with the preposition  $b\dot{e}$ , or with a specific time word.

(1) Used alone

Deng mukas sotu fedyan le ni ne.

PT more.than one market they this now

They are already more than one week now at this time.

Omin le yó mbut kemlo du. and then they that m-begin -em-weeding tool it

And then at that time, they began to weed it.

(2) Used with be

Ne ke mnóng kdaw bè yó, ominen mtem du. and if m-ray sun LOC that then.he m-burn it And if the sun shines at that time. then he burns it.

(3) Used with a time word

Bude mógów ebè Afus kemdaw ni kedeng. again.I m-go DIR,LOC Afus -em-day this later I'm going to Afus again later today.

Ne eles tnógó ni ke kifu. and in advance -n-cook this when night And cook it tonight ahead of time.

Although time is not one of the focused participants signalled by an affix on the verb, it may occur before the verb if it is necessary to contrast it with some other time for clarification:

Akad huli tu bude mógów. Sunday after there again.I m-go Sunday after next I'm going again.

Kifu ni kedeng kógów ie. tonight this later k-go their Later tonight they will be going.

## 5.1.4 Used with a noun for specificity

To be even more specific about a certain time or place or a certain participant, a ni set demonstrative may occur both preceding and following the noun:

Okóm ni kemdaw ni eginu, keml, but this -em-day this DIR, early -em-weeding.tool

But earlier today we weeded in the ricefield.

me bè tniba.

we,EX LOC -n-ricefield

Ni kmoen ni, sotuhu fen tebel bè gunù. this k-do.it this onc.I ID Ø-left.behind LOC house At this time I am the only one left in the house.

Són ni kifu ni, là tnawe. only this night this NEG Ø-cold.I

It is only this night that I'm not cold.



Tedu angat kmoen ni knagiu ni? what FT k-do.its this k-study.my this

What will I do about this my studying?

Nmò le mambang ni ubi ni. n-make they bread this sweet.potato this

They are going to make bread from these sweet potatoes.

Són ktonu du tu ngau tu, last k-see.I him that child.mine that

My last time to see that child of mine, he was already leaving home (straying).

nbuten htabag ne. n-begin.he h-leave.home now

Tek sotu bélê le gewà yó kem tau Only one of those people just now only one PREP them g-escape that PL that (talked about) escaped.

only one PREP them g-escape that PL that yó koni

person just.now

All those are your children.

Hlò kem kóm ngà yó kem yó. all PL your,SG child that PL that

#### 5.2 The nim set

The nim set of demonstratives is a very hard worked set of demonstratives. Its function is to refer back to a participant that has already been spoken of in the immediate situation, a participant already known to both speaker and hearer. It occurs with both focused and nonfocused participants, so there is hardly a sentence where a demonstrative from this set is not used.

This set has both a singular and a plural form. When the focused participant is singular, the nim form is used, e.g. nim ngà 'this child'. When it is plural, the demonstrative occurs with the plural marker kem, e.g. ni kem ngà 'these children'.

#### 5.2.1 The nim set used with focused participants

The nim set of demonstratives is used to specify a certain person, place or thing functioning as the focused participant of a sentence. It may be a focused actor, goal, object or instrument. It also occurs with the topic of a nonverbal clause.

#### (1) Actor

ne mudél nim Mà Bong, monen And m-word this Father Big said.he 'and Big Father (already mentioned) spoke, he said'

okóm kul ni kem iwas, gel mon le But them this PL monkey always said they

'but as for them the monkeys (already mentioned), they always said'

Móyô le nù lem bulul yó kem Tboli. m-like they Ø-to.be in mountain that PL Tboli Tboli like to live in the mountains.



(2) Object

Deng densù Mà yem blétê bong PT -en-offer Father that balete big Father gave an offering (to the spirits) for the big balete (tree) right below (us).

debwak. nearby.lower.area

Tragónom no bô vem dena

Did you know about my marriage?

Tngónem ne kô yem deng kyehenu? Ø-know.you,SG now QU that PT k-spouse.my

(3) Goal

Deng henbuk Yê bulung yem ngà
PT h-en-smoke Mother medicine that child
wen desen.

Mother caused the medicine to smoke (toward) the child who is sick.

there.is sickness.his

(4) Instrument

Bulungu kóm yem bulung henyuhu. Ø-medicine.I you,SG that medicine -en-good.I I will medicine you with that medicine I saved.

(5) Topic in nonverbal clause

Tey denlag yem lem tuduk.

INT -en-forest that in distant.mountain

That distant mountain is very heavily forested.

Deng béhéng yem gunù leged.
PT Ø-lean that house higher.level

That house above (us) is already leaning.

Móyónen ne yem ktem le. almost.it now that k-burn their It is almost time now (for) their burning/for them to burn (their field).

Tey sidek boohen yem inget kudà.

INT bad odor.its that perspiration horse

The perspiration of a horse smells bad.

But when the speaker and the hearer are in a familiar situation, the demonstratives are seldom used with the focused participants. They are considered unnecessary for understanding.

## 5.2.2 The nim set used with nonfocused participants

The nin set of demonstratives is also used with nouns functioning as nonfocused participants, whether they are actor, object, goal, location or time.

(1) Unfocused actor

Benosen kuluhen tum sowu.
-en-hide head.its that boa.constrictor

The boa constrictor hid its head.



#### (2) Unfocused object

Lu bemli du yem kuleng bong. they -em-buy it the cooking.pot big

They were the ones to buy the large cooking pot.

#### (3) Location

sok le kól bè yem gunù if/when they Ø-arrive LOC that house

'when they arrive at that house (already mentioned)'

Kól me bè yem benwu mon le Sarangani. Ø-arrive we,EX LOC that country say they Sarangani

We arrived at the country they call Sarangani.

### (4) Time

Ni se nmò me bè nim bekasyón ni. this EMPH n-do we,EX LOC this vacation this This is what we did during this vacation.

Bè yem halay yo, là deng me mnagì he. LOC that year that NEG PT we,EX m-study yet That was the year we hadn't started studying yet.

Examples have also been found of the demonstrative occurring before the location marker:

Là mayuken yem bè le Mà Kusin yó. NEG m-far.it that LOC they Father Kusin that It's not far to that (place) of the Father of Kusin (and his family).

Nuket le sila yem bè tehe gunun mdef n-pick they corn that LOC former place.its m-land

They picked corn in that place where the plane used to land.

*ówóng.* airplane

Dnadu me yem bè tehe gunù Gendulot.
-n-plow we,EX that LOC formerly house Gendulot

We plowed that area where Gendulot's house used to be.

## 5.2.2.1 Used in 'of' phrases/genitive phrases

A genitive phrase in English is when two nouns are linked with an 'of' as in the phrase 'field of corn'. But in Tboli there is no such link between the two nouns that form a genitive phrase. These phrases may indicate kinship, possession, or a part-whole relationship.

## (1) Kinship

<i>ngà</i> child	<i>Ting</i> Ting		'child of Ting'
yehen spouse ssession	<i>Mà</i> Father	Dina Dina	'wife of the Father of Dina'

#### (2) Possession

gunù house	<i>Mà</i> Father	'house of (my) Father'
<i>suk</i> knife	<i>Témê</i> Grandfather	'knife of (my) Grandfather'



### (3) Part-whole

but beginning 'foot of the tree'

beginning

kulu

él 'head of the river'

head river

koyu

tree

But in situations that are less familiar, where there is a need to be more specific to be understood, demonstratives of the *nim* set are used along with the nouns in the genitive phrase:

yem mà y<mark>em</mark> libun

'the father of the girl'

that Father that girl

yem gunù yem fun tniba

'the house of the owner of the ricefield'

that house that owner -n-ricefield

Hensalà yem mà yem libun yem logi.

The father of the girl fines the boy.

h-en-sin that father that girl that boy

Bnasahem kem tuha yem libun.
-n-give.gift.you,SG PL old that girl

You give gifts to the parents of the girl.

## 5.2.2.2 Used to introduce a dependent clause functioning as time

yem deng kgefeten

bè gunù le

'when he reached their house'

that PT k-reach.his LOC house their

yem hanà kegenen

du datù ekni

'when he was still the leader in the past'

that still k-length.of.time.his it leader DIR,k-this

yem igò le tolo mken

'while they were still eating'

that while they still m-food

## 5.2.3 The nim set used to indicate known information

Once a participant has been introduced, there is a special form of the demonstrative used when the participant is referred to again as known information: nim...ni 'this one...this'. This form indicating known information is used with focused participants, with location and with time. It is used to keep the elements in the story all properly linked together. An example of this can be seen in the following sentences taken from a story:

Deng bulón móyón ktiba,

gel tenngel le

When it is almost time to make a ricefield, they always look at the stars.

month almost k-ricefield always -en-look.at they

blotik.

star

Nim blotik gel tenngel le ni, sundu yem blotik this star always -en-look.at they this NEG that star

These certain stars they always look at, it's not the stars we all always see at night.

gel ton tekuy kifu. always Ø-see we,IN night



Limu kwen le ni kem blotik tmiba ni. five k-there.is their this PL star -m-ricefield this

There are five of them these stars for making a ricefield.

When the participant being referred to is visible to both the speaker and the hearer or is known to both, this combination nim ni 'this one' may be used as a substitute for the participant:

Nim mu nim ni, sok wen hohon le this purpose this this if there.is enemy their The purpose of this one here, if they have an enemy

Wen se tau là gemfu du ni kem ni. there is EMPH person NEG g-em-finish it this PL this There are people who don't finish these things.

#### 5.3 The dini set

The dini set of demonstrative pronouns substitutes for a certain location:

Tey tnaw dini.

It's very cold here.

INT-Ø Ø-cold here

Ne ditu gunù me tungô. and there place our, EX Ø-sleep

It was there the place where we slept.

There is directional marker e- used with the dini set of demonstrative pronouns. It indicates a direction towards the place indicated by the demonstrative:

Mógów-i edini.

Come here (to me).

m-go.you,SG DIR,here

Hwitu edyó lukas filak. h-send.I DIR, there leftover money I'll send the leftover money there (to you).

This directional marker is used only with the tu 'far distant' of the ni set:

Bud me mulék etu bè Maitum. again we,EX m-return DIR,there LOC Maitum Again we returned there to Maitum.

### 5.4 Ways of being more specific with demonstratives

Tholi have two ways of adding a further element of specificity to the demonstratives: (1) by repeating the final vowel of the *ni* set and the *dini* set, and (2) by using the particles *sii* and *dii* with the *ni* set.

#### 5.4.1 Repeating the final vowel of the demonstrative

The final vowel in either the ni set or the dini set may be repeated, making the demonstrative even more specific:

Tey hulung dmadu safî nii. really know.how -m-plow steer this,sp

This here steer really knows how to plow.

Kegenem de dinii? k-length.of.time.you,SG QU this,SP How long will you be staying here at this place?

Snólóku dituu kedeng. -n-ask.I there,SP later I'll ask about it later there at that place.



## 5.4.2 Using sii and dii particles

The sii and dii particles are used with the ni set of demonstratives. Their function is to add a strong degree of specificity or exactness:

Ni sii yem filak.

This right here is the money.

this SP that money

Yó sii.

That is exactly right.

that SP

Ni sii kbuten.

This is how this one begins.

This sp k-begin.its

Olohem hmung do tu dii. iust.you.SG h-accompany me that SP

Just let that one right there go with me.

Yó dii nóyóu., that SP n-want.I

That's the very one I want.

# 6. Noun phrases

A noun phrase is a noun plus a particle or a modifier or a combination of these. The particle is the nonfocus particle ke used with personal nouns, the only particle used in the Tboli focus system. The modifier may be a possessive pronoun, an adjective, a demonstrative or a verbal clause.

## 6.1 Personal nouns with the nonfocus particle ke

A noun phrase is formed whenever the nonfocus particle ke occurs with a personal noun. This particle signals that the personal noun is not the participant in focus in the sentence:

Munge ke Wè Ting elem bulul.
m-accompany.l NF Friend Ting DIR,in mountain

I'm going with Friend Ting into the mountains.

Hwitem do **ke Alun** suk udiu.

Send my little knife to me with Alun.

h-send.you,SG me NF Alun knife little.my

Wen se tulónu ke Mà. there is EMPH Ø-tell.I NF Father There is indeed something I'm going to tell Father.

Fen mfas lefò ke Lewadin.

ID m-cut.grass coconut NF Lewadin

As for Levidin, he is the one to cut grass under the coconuts.

#### 6.2 Nouns with a modifier

There are several classes of modifiers that may occur with a noun to form a noun phrase. It may be another noun or pronoun functioning as a possessive or it may be an adjective, a demonstrative or a verbal clause.



## 6.2.1 Nouns modified by a possessive

A noun phrase is formed whenever a noun is modified by a possessive. The possessive may be either a noun or a pronoun. It may occur after the noun it modifies or before it.

There are two sets of possessive pronouns: the -u set (see sec. 4.2.1) which occurs after the noun and is the most frequently used, and the dou set (see sec. 4.2.2) which occurs before the noun. In this position, there is an implied contrast with someone or something else for clarification:

Yó kudaen.

That's his horse.

that horse.his

Kun kudà yó.

That horse is his (not someone else's).

his horse that

If a personal name is used as a possessive following the noun, it is unmarked. But if it occurs before the noun, the nonfocus particle ke is used with it:

Yó kudà Walan.

That's Walan's horse.

that horse Walan

Ke Walan yem kudà yó.

It's Walan (who owns) that horse (not someone else).

## 6.2.2 Nouns modified by an adjective

A noun phrase is formed whenever a noun is modified by an adjective. Certain adjectives occur before the noun they modify, others occur after it, and still others may occur either before or after the noun they modify (see sec. 3.1.3).

## 6.2.2.1 Noun phrase with the adjective preceding the noun

Ket tau se benlay le tonok. each person EMPH -en-give they land It was to each person they gave land.

Ntuken tehe kimu tóbóngen ke Fining. n-collect.he former property Ø-help.he NF Fining

He was collecting the former property he had used to help *Fining*.

Són usoken ne dù tagak.
only rice.grain.it now left left.behind

Only the rice grains are now left behind.

### 6.2.2.2 Noun phrase with the adjective after the noun

Wen kô bud dumu lan mahil? there.is QU again another path m-easy

Is there another easy path?

Nofok le kem koyu lembang. n-chop.down they PL tree large They chopped down the large trees.

# 6.2.2.3 Noun phrase where the same adjective may occur either before or after the noun

Deng lomi hwitu se eginu gna sulatu.

I recently sent my first letter.

PT recent h-send.I EMPH DIR, early first letter.my



tehe benwu gnahen kun former country before.it it.is.said 'it is said (that) in the former country from before/in the past'

Wen kô bud dumu lan mahil? there.is QU again another path m-easy

Is there another path that's easy?

Nauyen yem tau dumuhen nbok le bè n-visit.he that person companion.his n-open they LOC

He visited that person who was his relative whom they had operated on in Dadiangas.

Dadiangas.

Dadiangas

## 6.2.2.4 Number of adjectives in a sequence

Usually only one adjective occurs following a noun (see sec. 3.1.4). Two may occur, but this is not common:

Wen bew logi kemgis.
there.is carabao male -em-strong

There is a strong, male carabao.

A more natural combination is to have one adjective from the class of adjectives that occurs before the noun used to modify a noun phrase:

Wen bud dumu lan mahil. there is again another path m-easy

There is another path that is easier.

Wen tehe tutul gnahen kun. there.is former story before.it him

According to him, there is a former story from the past.

Deng smakad silau bè tehe simbahan gna.

PT -m-tassel corn.my LOC former church before

My corn is already tasseled (that was planted where) the former church stood in the past.

#### 6.2.3 Nouns modified by a plural marker

A noun phrase is formed whenever a noun occurs with a plural marker. There are two plural markers in Tboli, kem (see sec. 2.1.1) used with common nouns, and le (see sec. 2.1.2) used with personal names.

#### 6.2.3.1 Kem used with common nouns

Ton me kem kafal bè kilil mohin. Ø-see we, EX PL ship LOC edge ocean We saw the ships at the edge of the ocean.

Nogot me kem kahun me. n-hold.on.to we,EX PL box our, EX We held on to our boxes.

Kem kuleng le, gotu nwit le.
PL cooking.pot their all n-bring they

Their cooking pots, they brought them all along with them.

Tô nékét le o kem kudà. about.to n-bite they me PL horse

The horses were about to bite me.



We arrived at (the place of) Grand-

father Kóg and his household.

They went there to (the place of)

Grandmother and her nousehold.

How is the ricefield of Father and

Grandmother?

## 6.2.3.2 Le used with personal names

Témê Kóg. me bè **le** Ø-arrive we,EX LOC they Grandfather Kóg

Mógów le etu bè le m-go they DIR, there LOC they Grandmother

Deng kinoen se Mà tniba k-do.it EMPH -n-ricefield they Father and

Grandmother

Ré?

Often this noun phrase with the plural marker le occurs following the nonfocused pronoun kul 'them' functioning as goal in order to identify who it is the pronoun refers to:

Wè Walan. kul le Ne munge and m-accompany. I them they Friend Walan And I accompanied Friend Walan and the others.

na stulón kul le yem kifu. Mà and first we.EX first s-tell them they Father that night And first we talked with Father and his household that night.

Mò kul le Témê Ukol se? Ø-do them they Grandfather Short EMPH How is Short Grandfather and his household doing?

Another variation of this noun phrase is when specific numbers of people involved are indicated, and when the speaker includes himself by using the pronoun me 'we,EX':

Alun. Tey sidek kbitil me lewu me INT bad k-hungry our, EX two us, EX Alun

Alun and I were very hungry.

elem Buling lewu le Mógów le tuha login. m-go they DIR,in Buling two them old male.her She and her husband went to (the area of) Buling.

Lewadin tlu bè tniba Kemlo me -em-weeding.tool we,EX LOC -n-ricefield Lewadin three Lewadin, his wife and I weeded in his ricefield.

Lewadin yehenen. us,EX Lewadin wife.his

## 6.2.4 Nouns modified by a demonstrative

#### 6.2.4.1 With a ni set demonstrative

A noun phrase is formed when a noun occurs with a demonstrative from the ni set (see sec. 5.1). This demonstrative usually occurs following the noun, but it may also occur preceding it:

(1) Following the noun

Máóhe hè benwu ni dou. m-leave.I LOC country this me

I'm leaving this country as for me.

Angat metlasik ngà kudà ni. me-quick child horse this This little colt is going to be a fast (runner).



Hensideken ktauhu tau tu. hen-bad.he k-person.my person that That person disgraced me.

Ken te ne ken yó koni. Ø-food we,DU now food that just.now Let's you and I eat that food now that we just got.

(2) Preceding the noun

Là hbayaden du kóm tum kimu.

NEG h-pay.he it you,SG that possessions

He won't make you pay for that property.

Móyón teflok ne ni udélu ebéléem. almost stop now this word.my DIR,PREP,you,SG These words of mine to you are about to stop.

Ne yó bok gunuhu temngón du yem mò and that book place. I -em-know it that PREP ktahuhen.
k-true.its

And it was from that book I learned the truth.

(3) Both preceding and following the noun for specificity

Ninò le mambang ni ubi ni. n-make they bread this sweet.potato this They will make bread from this sweet potato here.

Ni kemdaw ni eginu, kemlo me. this -em-day this DIR, early -em-weeding.tool we, EX Earlier today we weeded.

Okóm laen dù kimuhen yó kyónen yó. but NEG,it left property.his that k-sit.his that But when he was sitting there, he had no property left.

Són ktonu du tu ngau tu, nbuten only k-see.my him that child.my there n-begin.he

When I last saw that child of mine, he was already beginning to leave home/stray.

htabag ne.
h-leave.home now

This *ni* set of demonstratives also occurs with the plural marker *kem*, i.e., *ni kem* 'these'. It occurs with or without a *ni* set demonstrative following the noun:

Gel thó doun le ni kem koyu ni. always Ø-drop.off leaf their this PL tree this The leaves of these trees always drop off.

Du gna mung bè yó kem dumu tau. he first m-accompany LOC that PL other person He was the first to accompany those other people.

Yake tódô blay le bè tu kem dumu tau. good.if just Ø-give they LOC that PL other person

Good if they would just give it to those other people.



#### 6.2.4.2 Nouns with a nim set demonstrative

When it is necessary to refer back specifically to something already introduced in the immediate context, a demonstrative from the *nim* set is always used preceding the noun, with the equivalent demonstrative from the *ni* set following the noun, i.e., *nin*...*ni*:

Tungô me bélê le yem kifu yó. Ø-sleep we,EX PREP them that night that We slept with them that night (already mentioned).

Denge hulung mogot du nim snafang ni.
PT,I Ø-know.how m-hold it this gun this

I know how to hold/shoot this gun (already mentioned).

Wen élen tum tifas tu, ne tey there is water its that wild.palm there and INT

That wild palm tree (already mentioned) has a liquid, and it's very sweet.

mi. sweet

# 6.2.5 Nouns modified by a verbal clause

A noun phrase modified by a verbal clause forms another type of noun phrase (indicated in bold print). The verbal clause (underlined in the examples) is a complete statement in itself, with a verb and an actor with or without other participants such as goal, object, location, etc. (Verbal clauses will be considered in sec. 8.)

Tonu yó kem doloy <u>masà kilil lan.</u> Ø-see.I that PL wild.fruit m-lie edge path I saw the wild fruit lying by the edge of the path.

Wen bew Ting kemgis mò nmò. there is carabao Ting em-strong g-do n-do

There is Ting's carabao who is strong to work.

Tey dê dumu libun <u>móyô</u> <u>mnagì</u>.

INT many other female m-like m-study

There are many other women who would like to study.

Ne gehedemu yem kudà bukay demyol afus. and ge-think.I that horse white em-drag bamboo

And I remembered that white horse that dragged the bamboo.

Kól me bè yem gunù tulón yem tau yó Ø-arrive we,EX LOC that house Ø-tell that person there

We arrived at the house the man had told us about earlier.

<u>koni</u>. just.now

Ni yem ówóng <u>tehe</u> <u>tulónem</u> <u>bè</u> <u>sulatem</u>. this that boat former #-tell.you,SG LOC letter.your This is the boat you had told us about in your letter.

Ntuken yem kimu tóbóngen ke Fining.
n-collect.he that possessions H-help.he NF Fining

He was collecting the property he had used to help *Fining*.

Hnénégu yem silà <u>hulu</u> <u>me.</u>
-n-look.at.I that corn <u>h-plant we,EX</u>

I looked at the corn that we had planted.



بي

Nauyen yem tau dumuhen <u>nbok</u> <u>le</u> <u>bè</u> n-visit.he that person companion.his n-open they LOC

He visited that person who was his relative whom they operated on in Dadiangas.

#### Dadiangas.

**Dadiangas** 

#### 7. Nonverbal sentences

Sentences in Tboli may be divided into two types: nonverbal, i.e., those sentences that do not use a regular verb, and verbal, i.e., those sentences that use a regular verb plus participants such as actor, object, goal, etc. Since the nonverbal are easier to learn than the verbal, these will be considered first.

All nonverbal sentences consist of two parts: there is the topic, which is the person or thing being spoken about, and there is the comment, the information given about the topic. The comment is usually new information and occurs first in the sentence.

There are five types of nonverbal sentences in Tboli: existential, descriptive, equational, possession and location.

#### 7.1 Existential

There are words called existentials which indicate the existence or nonexistence of items. In Tboli the existential word is wen 'there is/there exists'. This is considered to be the comment about the topic being spoken about. The topic may be either a noun phrase or a verbal clause. In the examples below, comment and topic will be separated by a \{\}.

### (1) Existential with a noun

Wen desu.

Yakem wen | dumuhu.
good.if,? there.is companion.my

(2) Existential with a noun phrase

Wen des yem ngà udi le. there.is sickness that child little their

Wen | yem slungan.
there.is that wooden.trunk

(3) Existential with a verbal clause

Wen | kem tau nù du. there.is PL person Ø-to.be it

Wen | kem bayad nbóen he. there.is PL payment n-carry.he yet

Wen | Dwata tmóbóng du. there.is God -m-help her lit., There is my sickness. nat., I'm sick.

lit., Good if there was my companion (but there isn't).
nat., Good if I had a companion (but I don't).

lit., There is the sickness of their youngest child.
nat., Their youngest child is sick.
lit., There is that wooden trunk.
nat., The wooden trunk is there.

There are people living in it.

There are debts he is still carrying.

There is God who will help her.



¦ hnebelen. Wen

There is something he is looking for.

h-n-look.for.he there.is

Wen bulung nmò le. There is a medicine they have made.

medicine n-do they there.is

Wen blówón blayen yem ngà. There is a gong he gave to the child.

Ø-give.he that child there.is gong

onuken deng mngà. Wen chicken.his PT m-child there.is

There is his chicken that has already laid eggs.

## 7.1.1 Negated with là

The existential is negated with là. The negative with the existential means 'there is no':

bentù Là wen ¦ lefò

There were no coconuts that we broke me.

coconut -en-break.open we,EX NEG there.is

open.

sulat gu bélê ye. Là wen NEG there.is letter from PREP you,PL There has been no letter from you.

hmò Mà Là wen do. There is nothing Father has had me do.

NEG there.is h-do Father me

When the negative laen dù 'there is no/none' is used with the existential, it has the meaning that there is nothing left at all:

Laen dù halay

le.

NEG,it left unhulled.rice their

lit., There is none left of their unhulled

nat., They have no unhulled rice left.

Laen dù desen

yem ngà udì le.

lit., There is no sickness of their

NEG, it left sickness. his that child little their

youngest child.

stulón. Laen dù dumuhu

nat., Their youngest child isn't sick.

lit., There is no companion of mine to

talk with.

NEG, it left companion.my s-tell

nat., I have no companion to talk with.

Whenever the pronoun -en 'he/she/it' is used with wen, it always means 'it', and the existential has the meaning of 'not many/not much':

Là wen -en. There isn't much of it.

NEG there.is it

Là holen wen

ken le.

They do not have much food.

NEG INT, it there.is food theirs

Là holen wen

htiba | tau

le.

They are not having many people (help

person h-ricefield they NEG INT, it there. is

them) make a ricefield.



## 7.1.2 Optional constituents

There are two other participants that may occur with a nonverbal existential: location and time.

### (1) With location

Location may be indicated with either the  $b\dot{e}$  location marker or a location word. Location always occurs at the end of the sentence:

Wen | dnalang tekuy bè yem Udél Dwata. there.is -n-learn we,IN LOC that Word God

There is that which we learn from the Word of God.

Wen | sidek du bè yem ilô kdawu. there.is bad it LOC that sign sun.my There is something wrong with my watch.

Wen | desen bè kinì. there.is sickness.his LOC hot There is his sickness from the heat.

Wen | fol nù talaken. there is storehouse G-to be middle.its There is a storehouse in the middle (of the field).

Wen dumu kudà moni.

There is another horse nearby.

there.is companion horse nearby

There is also a location phrase marked by the word gunù 'place'. But it functions in a much broader sense than is seen in the examples above. It always occurs with the -u set of pronouns functioning as a possessive. The word final glottal stop is dropped when a singular pronoun is attached to the word:

Wen | gunum lala. there.is place.your Ø-disturb You are being disturbed.

Wen gunuhu élél.

There is a place where I'm lacking.

there.is place.my B-lack

There is something they are both claiming/quarreling over.

Wen | gunù le segled. there.is place their se-claim

#### (2) With time

Time may be either a time word or a word giving a measure of time. If location and time both occur in a sentence, time follows location. The modifier  $d\hat{o}$  'approximately/about' often occurs with it:

Wen i dô hanà sóól mneged kdaw. there.is about still halfway m-climb.a.hill sun

It is still about 9 A.M.

Wen { dô sbulôn he kun. there.is about one.month yet him

There is about one month yet according to him.

Wen do mukas limu folò halayen. there.is about more.than five ten year.his

He is probably more than fifty years old.



Wen sdô bè ni tau gemti eginu. person -em-shoot pig LOC here DIR, early there.is

There was a person who shot a pig here earlier.

## 7.2 Descriptive

In a nonverbal descriptive sentence, the comment describes the person or thing being talked about, i.e., the topic. The comment is either an adjective (see sec. 3.1) or a stative verb (see sec. 8.1). The topic may be a noun, a noun substitute or a noun phrase.

## (1) Noun as the topic

If a noun is used as the topic, it may be either a regular noun or a derived one:

Ali miteg | Bé.

Grandmother is very tired.

INT m-tired Grandmother

Tey mnóng | kdaw ni.

The sun is very bright now.

INT m-shine sun now

Alì gedlug ¦ yem kebli kem ngà.

What the children bought was too much.

INT more.than.enough that ke-buy PL child

Tey hyu | kbunguhen. INT good k-fruit.its

It's fruiting was very good.

## (2) Noun substitute as the topic

If a noun substitute is used as the topic, it is either from the focused -e set of personal pronouns or from the ni set of demonstratives.

Mabu | -e.

m-fat I

I'm fat.

Hiigal | -i.

You are happy.

Ø-happy you,sG

Hyu ¦ yó. That is good.

Ø-good that

Alì tahà | nim ni. INT Ø-long this this This one is very long.

#### (3) Noun phrase as the topic

Tehe tey dê : dumu nmò me. former INT many companion work our, EX Formerly we had so many other kinds

of work.

Mahil | yem kógów me.

m-easy that k-go our, EX

Our going/trip was easy.

Deng gotu mékéng ne ¦ silà le.

Their corn is all dry now.

PT B all m-dry now corn their



Lembut | le Yê Udi. -em- agry PL Mother Little Little Mother and her companions are angry.

Alì hulung hmódó

kem Tboli.

Tboli really know how to be hospitable.

INT Ø-know.how -m-welcome PL Tboli

Tey tnaw | nim él ni.

INT Ø-cold this water this

This water (already mentioned) is very

cold.

Tahu ¦ yem udélen.

His words are true.

true that word.his

(4) Topic-comment ordering

When the topic needs to be contrasted with another person or thing for clarification, then the topic occurs before the comment:

Bé

yem alì miteg.

It is Grandmother who is really tired.

Grandmother that INT m-tired

Yem bulung tnaw | alì héét.

It is malaria medicine that is so bitter.

that medicine cold INT bitter

If a pronoun is used as a contrasted topic, it is from the focused ou set:

Ou se | mabù.

I'm the one who is fat.

I EMPH m-fat

Du | yem ali miteg.

She is the one that is so tired.

she that INT m-tired

7.2.1 Negated with là

A nonverbal descriptive sentence may be negated by la. This sentence ordinarily takes the focused -e set of pronouns as actor. When the pronoun 'he/she/it' is needed as actor or experiencer, the pronoun -en 'he/she/it' from the nonfocused -u set is used instead:

Là hyu | -hen.

It's not good.

NEG good it

Là ket -en.

It's not complete.

NEG complete it

Là menek | -en kbenwu Tboli.

The Tboli way of living is not settled.

NEG m-settle it k-country Tboli

Là tahu | ktiba le du he. NEG true k-ricesield their it yet lit., Their clearing for a ricefield is not true yet.
nat., They are not actually clearing for

a ricefield yet.

When a modifier is used before the descriptive word or phrase, the modifier attracts the pronoun actor to itself:



Là holen | hulung.

She doesn't really know how.

NEG INT, she Ø-know.how

Là holen ¦ likò kun.

She's not really afraid as for her.

NEG INT, she Ø-afraid her

Là holen | hyu kegnómu du kemdaw ni.

NEG INT, it good k-feel.my it -em-day this

lit., It is not very good how I feel today. nat., I'm not feeling very good today.

Là dogen | tahà sulatu ebéléem.

NEG INT, it long letter.my DIR, PREP, you

My letter to you is not very long.

## 7.2.2 Optional constituents

There are three optional participants that may occur with a nonverbal descriptive sentence: location, goal and time.

#### 7.2.2.1 Location

Location may be indicated either with the  $b\hat{e}$  location marker or a location word. A demonstrative from the ni set may substitute for a place:

Tey ali bong kulón i nim bulón ni bè klamang INT INT big rain this month this LOC k-wide There is so much rain this month all over Cotabato (province).

Cotabato.

Cotabato

Tódô menek | lem gunù. just m-quiet inside house It is just quiet in the house.

Mgel | yem nmò me bè ni koni. m-difficult that n-do our, EX LOC here just.now It was difficult work that we did here just now.

#### 7.2.2.2 Goal

Goal is indicated by a pronoun from the -u set occurring with the preposition bélê. This preposition has a wide area of meaning. In English it would be expressed by to, for, with, among, from, etc.:

Tilob ktolok me **bélê le**.

Our teaching them was beautiful.

beautiful k-teach our, EX PREP them

Ali kbeyen | Seitan béléu.

Satan had completely settled in with me.

INT k-settle.in Satan PREP, me

Tey hyu | nawa le ebélê me.

INT good breath their DIR,PREP us,EX

Their attitude towards us was very good.

## 7.2.2.3 Time

Time may be a time word, a word giving a measure of time or a demonstrative from the ni set substituting for time:



Mahil | yein kógów me ekimel.
m-casy that k-go we,EX DIR,early.afternoon

Our going was easy early yesterday afternoon.

Deng tey bong | ngà nati ni kmoen ni.
PT INT big child colt this k-do.it this

The little colt is already very big at this time.

Tey knagi | me ebuteng.

INT k-study Our, EX DIR, 24. hour.period

We really studied last night.

## 7.3 Equational

In a nonverbal equational sentence, the comment and the topic refer to the same thing, i.e., they 'equate' one another. Since they are in balance, a noun phrase may be used as either the topic or the comment, with or without a demonstrative from the *ni* set or the *nim* set. The *ni* set demonstrative may also occur alone:

Mà Imi | boluyen.
Father Imi name.his

His name is the Father of Imi.

Turner IIII mamouni

This is all there is.

Sónen | ni. only.it this

Yó | bunguhen. that fruit.its

That's its fruit.

Yó se | botong ktud yem bulungen. that EMPH extent k-effective that medicine.his That is the extent of the effectiveness of his medicine.

Són gel kumù me yem sakù halay.
only always blanket our,EX that sack rice

Our blanket was always only a rice şack.

Són udél le | nuhul. only word their whistle Their only words are whistles.

Boluy nim nmoen ni | bulung bolos.

The name of what he is doing is medicine for the fox.

Yem dou nit | yem sowu. that my n-bring that python What I brought was the python.

Ne yó des yem tau, bokong. and that sickness that person deaf

And the sickness of the person is deafness.



#### (1) Time as comment

A time word may occur as comment along with a derived noun functioning as topic:

Ekimel | kkólen.
DIR,early.afternoon | k-arrive.his

His arrival was early yesterday afternoon.

Legen udì | yem tendo kni Mà. long.time little that continue k-pray Father

Father's continual praying went on for quite a long time.

Kifu | kebeng le.
night k-bury their

It was at night their burying him.

## 7.3.1 Topic-comment ordering

If it is necessary to contrast the noun used as topic with another noun for clarification, the topic would then occur before the comment:

Yem tuha libun yó, ¦ Yê Genew. that old woman that Mother Genew That old woman is the Mother of Genew.

Ou | gna tau.

I first person

I am the first person.

Du se ¦ yem ngà alì bong tóbóngem du.

She is the child you helped a great deal.

she EMPH that child INT big Ø-help.you,sG her

## 7.3.2 Negated with sundu/sindu

The nonverbal equational sentence may be negated by sundu/sindu 'it's not'. The pronoun du 'it' always occurs along with sundu following whatever is being negated:

Sundu Mà Imi du | boluyen.

NEG Father Imi it name.his

His name is not Father of Imi.

Sunda Vê Genew du Lyem titha libi

Sundu Yê Genew du | yem tuha libun yó.

NEG Mother Genew it that old woman that

That old woman is not Mother of Genew.

Sundu yó du | bunguhen. NEG that it fruit.its That is not its fruit.

Sundu sowu du | yem dou nit.

NEG python it that my n-bring

It was not the python that I brought.

Sundu bulung bolos du ; yem nmoen yó.

It is not medicine for a fox that he is making there.

#### 7.4 Possession

In the nonverbal sentences indicating possession, the comment is the possessor and the topic is the possessed item. The comment may be either a noun or a pronoun. If the comment is a noun, it is marked by the nonfocus particle ke. If it is a pronoun, it is a nonfocused pronoun from the dou set functioning as a possessive.



The topic may be either a noun phrase or a demonstrative from the ni set substituting for it:

Ke Ting | sewel yó.

Those trousers belong to Ting.

NF Ting trousers that

Ke Abing | funen ke wen soging huluhen.

NF Abing owner if there is bananas \( \mathcal{G} - \text{plant.he} \)

Abing is the owner if there are bananas

he plants.

Kun | yem kumù Tboli yó.

It's his that Tboli blanket there.

his that blanket Tboli that

Dou | ni.

This is mine.

mine this

There is a preposition mò 'for' which functions as indicating purpose. It may occur before the noun or pronoun used as possessor to indicate potential ownership:

Mò ke Ting | sewel yó.

Those trousers are for Ting.

PREP NF Ting trousers that

Mò yem ngà wen desen ! nim bulung
PREP that child there is sickness her this medicine

This medicine (already mentioned) is for the child who is sick.

*ni*. this

Mò kom | yem lieg yó.
PREP you,SG that necklace that

That necklace (already mentioned) is for you.

#### 7.4.1 Topic-comment ordering

If it is necessary to contrast the noun used as topic with another noun for clarification, the topic may occur before the comment:

Yem bew logi ¦ mò ke Kasi.

It's the male carabao that is for Kasi.

that carabao male PREP NF Kasi

Yem lieg ni | ke Yê Bong. that necklace this NF Mother Big This is the necklace for Big Mother.

Tey sidek kkowen | ke Umék kun.

INT bad k-cough.her NF Umek her

It is a very bad cough that *Umek* has as for her.

Són yem | ke Alun klot.
only that NF Alun tight

It is only the one for Alun that is tight.

### 7.4.2 Negated with là

A nonverbal sentence indicating possession may be negated by  $l\dot{a}$ . The negative requires that the pronoun du 'he/she/it' occurs after the possessor:

Là ke Ting du | yem sewel yó.

NEG NF Ting it that trousers that

That pair of trousers (already mentioned) is not for Ting.



Là dou du | nim lieg ni.

NEG mine it this necklace this

This necklace (already mentioned) is not mine.

Là ke Kasi du | yem bew logi.

NEG NF Kasi it that carabao male

That male carabao is not for Kasi.

#### 7.5 Location

In a nonverbal sentence indicating location, the comment is either the place of the action or the person/place toward which the action is directed. It may be the specific name of a person or place occurring with the location particle  $b\dot{e}$ , a noun phrase with or without one of the location words (see sec. 10.2.2) or a noun substitute.

The topic is always marked by the word gunù 'place'. Only two classes of verbs are used following ganù: a stative verb signalling an EFS (see sec. 8.1) or a verb with the me- affix signalling actor focus (see sec. 8.2).

The word gunù 'place' always occurs with a possessive, either a noun or a pronoun. It can also occur with a pronoun from the -u set. If the singular pronoun is used, the word final glottal is dropped since the pronoun is attached to the word.

#### (1) Noun as location

Bè Ting | gunuhen mit du. LOC Ting place.his m-bring it He brought it to Ting.

Bè Bongu | gunù le ston ekimel.

LOC Bongu place their s-see DIR,early.afternoon

It was at Bongu where they saw each other early yesterday afternoon.

#### (2) Noun phrase as location

Bè gunù Mà | gunù Kasi mton ke Gadu. LOC house Father | place Kasi m-saw NF Gadu It was at Father's house where Kasi saw Gadu.

Lem kahun | gunuhen nù.
inside box place.its Ø-to.be

It's inside the box.

Ta ofi | sotu gunù le tméwéng du. above fire one place their -m-hang it One place they hang it is above the fire.

Tey dê tindà | gunun emit do.

INT many store place.his DIR,m-bring me

He brought me to very many stores.

The benwe | gunun emógów sok wen three country place.his DIR,m-go when there.is

There are three countries where a Tboli may go when he dies.

matay bè Tboli. m-die LOC Tboli

### (3) Personal pronoun as a substitute for location

If a personal pronoun substitutes for the person functioning as location, either a pronoun from the nonfocused -u set occurs with the preposition  $b\hat{e}l\hat{e}$  or a pronoun from the focused ou set occurs as the comment:



Du ne | gunuhu mni.

He's now the one to whom I pray.

he now place.my m-ask

Béléu | gunuhen emeted du. PREP,me place.her DIR,deliver it She delivered it to me.

## (4) Demonstrative pronoun as a substitute for location

If a demonstrative pronoun substitutes for the location, a demonstrative from the ni set is used with or without the location marker  $b\dot{e}$ :

Yó sotu but | gunù le élél bè Tboli. that one beginning place their lack LOC Tboli That's one reason why Tboli are needy.

Ni se | gunù me nù.

This EMPH place our, EX Ø-to.be

This is where we live.

Ne yó langat gunuhu tmiba kedeng. and there FT place.my -m-ricefield later And there is where I will make a ricefield later on.

Bè yó gunù le temngón du ke
LOC that place bold their em-know it if

angat kmulón dun mnóng kdaw.

FT -m-rain or m-shine sun

That is their way to know whether it will rain or whether the sun will shine.

## 7.5.1 Negated by laen dù

A nonverbal sentence indicating location is negated by laen dù 'there is no/none':

Laen dù | gunù me hemwit du. NEG,it left place our,EX h-em-send it There is no one with whom we can send it.

Laen dù | gunù me mton du dini yem lan yó.

NEG, it left place our, EX m-see it here that path there

There is no place here where we can see that path (already mentioned).

Laen dù | gunuhen egefet hendemu.

NEG,it left place.its DIR,reach -en-thought.my

I'm not able to reach any decision.

Laen dù ¦ gunuhu mung.
NEG,it left place.my m-go.along

There is no one with whom I can go.

Laen dù | gunuw lungun nawa. NEG,it left place.my worry breath There is nothing that I'm worried about.

### 7.5.2 Optional constituents

Time may occur in a nonverbal sentence indicating location. It always occurs at the end of the sentence:

Bè lemisa | gunù Tunyu hemsù du eginu. LOC table place Tunyu hem-put it DIR, early It was on the table where *Tunyu* put it earlier.

Bè ni | gunù le ston koni.

LOC here place their s-see just.now

Here is where they saw each other just now.

#### 8. Verbal sentences: focus system

There is a certain distinctive feature of Philippine languages that English does not have, and this feature is the main reason for the difficulty English speakers have in learning to speak a Philippine language correctly. It is called the 'focus system', the system which shows the relationship between the verb and the other participants in the sentence.

In most Philippine languages the participants may be a person, thing, place or time; it may be a single word or a phrase. For example, in the English sentence 'Yesterday the father gave his son a gong', the words 'yesterday, father, son' and 'gong' are the participants in the action of giving. In most Philippine languages, this relationship between the verb and the participants is a grammatical one signalled by a particle which indicates which participant in the sentence is in focus, i.e., which participant is the most prominent in the sentence. The affix on the verb designates the role (actor, object, etc.) the focused participant plays in the sentence.

Tholi does not have these focus marking particles, so the focus system is signalled mainly by the affix used on the verb. What further complicates learning the system in Tholi, however, is that many of the verbs are used without an affix. The unaffixed verbs and the participants not marked by any particle results in problems for anyone trying to learn Tholi until a very important fact is realized: word order in Tholi is fixed. So it may be said that the participants in a Tholi sentence are marked, not by overt particles, but by word order. This order is verb, actor, object. If a goal is added, the fixed order is verb, actor, goal and object. If an instrument is added, the fixed order is verb, actor, object and instrument. Location and time may occur at the end of any of the sentences.

There are five sentence types in Tboli based on the five different participants which can be signalled by the verb as being in focus: experiencer focus, actor focus, object focus, goal focus and instrument focus. These five may be divided into two groups based on their strong similarities: EFS and AFS make up one group; object, goal and instrument make up the second. Of these five sentence types, the actor focus and the object focus are by far the most frequently used.

The focused participant may be shifted to the position immediately preceding the verb. So a test to determine whether or not a certain participant is in focus is to see if it can occur in this preverb position. If it can without changing anything else in the sentence, it is the focused participant. If it cannot, it is not:

Blay le do sotu kudà. Ø-give they me one horse They gave me one horse.

Sotu kudà blay le do.
one horse Ø-give they me

It was one horse they gave me.

There can be only one participant in focus in the sentence. Time and place are also participants in a sentence, but in Tboli these are never signalled by an affix on the verb.

Throughout this material, the term 'sentence' is used to mean simply a verb plus one or more of the basic participants: actor, object, goal or instrument.

#### 8.1 Experiencer focus sentence (EFS)

The experiencer in Tboli is the one who experiences a certain state or condition. It always occurs immediately following the verb. The verb used in an EFS is a stative verb, describing the state or condition of the experiencer. In Tboli there is a wider range of words used as statives than is found in English. Verbs like 'sleep, bathe, lie down, rest, slip, fall', etc. are all included in this class.



Most of the stative verbs in a sentence where the experiencer is in focus will either have an affix from the ne- set (ne-, n-, -en- and -n-) or no affix at all. Only a few verbs will use an affix from the me- set (me-, m-, -em- and -m-). The affix signals that the role of the focused participant is experiencer. Examples of stative verbs plus the affixes used with them are given in the examples below:

Myake.

I'm embarrassed.

m-embarrass.I

Ningete.

I'm perspiring.

n-perspire.I

Denge bennget.

I have already let my beard grow.

PT,I -en-beard

Hnisa.

He has a boil.

-n-boil-Ø

Kinii

You are hot.

B-hot.you,sG

The only participant that is essential in an EFs is the experiencer, but goal, location and time may also occur.

## 8.1.1 Grammatical forms of experiencer

The experiencer may be a noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun.

### (1) Noun as experiencer

A noun functioning as an experiencer may be either a common noun or a proper noun. It occurs immediately following the verb, as illustrated in the following examples:

Deng matù Mantil.

Mantil won.

PT m-win Mantil

Tungô Ngà Bun.

Ngà Bun is sleeping.

Ø-sleep Ngà Bun

Dmunuk éL

The river is flooded.

-m-flood river

Tódô

kulón.

The rain came immediately.

sut immediate Ø-arrive rain

Tey ninget

kwangu.

My back is really perspiring.

INT n-perspire back.my

Msut

tlangas.

The grasshoppers arrived.

m-arrive grasshopper

# (2) Noun phrase as experiencer

All four types of noun phrases (see sec. 6) may occur as an experiencer: (1) noun + posscssive; (2) noun + plural markers; (3) noun + adjective; (4) noun + demonstrative:



Deng kól ditu kem dumu lefou.

PT H-arrive there PL other coconut.my

My other coconuts have already arrived there.

Tebel le Ting. Ø-stay.behind PL Ting Ting and his companions stayed behind.

Nù bè kililen ngà ówóng. Ø-to.be LOC edge.its child boat The little boat is by the shore (of the lake).

Tey hnali nim ohu ni.

INT -n-wound this dog this

This dog (already mentioned) is badly wounded.

Tey ninget yem kudà fóg.

INT n-perspire that horse brother.in.law

That horse of my brother-in-law is really perspiring.

In a longer sentence when other participants are involved, the noun phrase realizing the experiencer always occurs at the end of the sentence. However, a pronoun representing it occurs in the regular position for experiencer, which is following the verb:

Hlilil le bè seel kem ngà. Ø-lie.down they LOC floor PL child The children are lying on the floor.

Kól le bélê me kem tau dmadu. Ø-arrive they PREP us,EX PL person -m-plow The men who are to plow have arrived to us.

Using a pronoun in the regular experiencer position along with the noun phrase at the end of the sentence (as in the examples above) seems to be the preferred choice for many speakers. It often happens even when the experiencer is the only participant:

Bitil le ni kem ngà. Ø-hungry they this PL child These children are hungry.

Higg! le kem tau mehek. Ø-happy they PL person m-plant.rice The people who plant rice are happy.

# (3) Pronoun as experiencer

Normally verbs with an affix from the ne- set or verbs with no affix at all use a pronoun from the nonfocused -u set for an actor. But with an EFS, the pronoun used for the experiencer is from the focused -e set. The use of this focused pronoun set for experiencer is the feature that distinguishes stative verbs from other verbs with the same affixation:

(a) Stative verbs

Ningete.

I'm perspiring.

n-perspire.I

Tungói ne.

You go to sleep now.

Ø-sleep.you,SG now

(b) Nonstative verbs

Nwitem twolihem.

You bring your younger sibling with you.

n-bring.you,sG younger.sibling.your,SG



Tonu lu koni. **B**-see.I them just.now I saw them just now.

There are several classes of adverbs occurring before the stative verb (see sec. 3.2.1) that always attract the -e set of pronouns used as experiencer:

likò Gotu le kem dumu they Ø-afraid PL companion person All the other people were afraid.

tódô tungô ditu kedeng. Elese beforehand. I just Ø-sleep there by and by I'll just plan ahead of time to sleep there.

yó kem lebeng. Deng le kó! they Ø-arrive that PL Ø-bury Those who buried (him) have already

There is another class of adverbs occurring before the verb (see sec. 3.2.1) which also attract the experiencer pronoun to themselves, but with these adverbs, the focused -e set is replaced with the nonfocused -u set:

Sónmoen hligal dmóyón ke Dwata. always.he Ø-happy -m-praise NF God

He is always happy to praise God.

Tey lelu lehen. INT still. I Ø-thin I'm still very thin.

There are certain sentence conjunctions which do the same, attracting the pronoun experiencer, then changing it from the focused -e set to the nonfocused -u set:

Igò me sem bitil, igò while we,EX EMPH Ø-hungry while we,EX While we were so hungry, at the same time we just hurried.

tódô heflóng. just hurry

btik bè yó, omin me Timbow me we,EX Ø-get.up LOC there then we,EX when

When we woke up at that place, then we again started out.

bud lemwót. again left

Ominu hlilil.

then.I Ø-lie.down

Then I lay down.

Ominen hlós ebè

gunù mnagi. then.he Ø-proceed DIR,LOC house m-study Then he proceeded to the school.

Sendaw me nù bè yó. s-en-day we, EX Ø-to.be LOC there One day we stayed there.

Sulék tehe gu dini le s-return they former Ø-from here PL Once Fining and the others came here.

Fining.

Fining



## (4) Position of experiencer for contrast

Whenever an implied contrast with another person or thing is needed for clarification, the experiencer is shifted from its normal position following the verb to the position immediately preceding the verb. In this position the pronoun used as experiencer is from the focused ou se. The emphasis particle se may or may not occur following the experiencer:

Mantil se matù.

Mantil was the one who won.

Mantil EMPH m-win

btang koni.

I'm the one who fell just now.

I EMPH Ø-fall just.now

Du tolo tungô. he/she/it still Ø-sleep He/she/it is the one still sleeping.

## (5) Position of experiencer for emphasis

Emphasis may be given to the experiencer used in its regular position following the verb by reiterating it at the end of the sentence. This is done by using either a pronoun from the nonfocused dou set or by using a proper name. The emphasis particle se may or may not occur just before the reiterated experiencer:

Mabù se kun.

He is fat as for him.

m-fat-Ø EMPH him

Tnawe dou.

I'm cold as for me.

Ø-cold.I me

Leheni se kóm. Ø-thin.you EMPH you You are thin as for you.

Because the reiteration is a nonfocused function, the nonfocus particle ke always occurs with the proper name:

Fen gna ebè gunù ke Lewadin.

ID Ø-ahead DIR,LOC house NF Lewadin

As for Lewadin, he was the first one to

the house.

Dalang se ke Alun, likò. same EMPH NF Alun Ø-afraid-Ø It was the same with Alun, he was afraid.

When a plural experiencer is emphasized, and it is necessary to clarify the ones being spoken about by naming the individual, the plural particle *le* occurs with the person's name following the nonfocused pronoun used for an emphasizer. In the following example the pronoun *kul* 'them' for emphasis is repeated twice:

Hlos le kul le Alun kul. Ø-proceed they them PL Alun them Alun and the others proceeded as for them.

## 8.1.2 Participants that are optional

There are three participants in an EFS that are optional as nonfocused participants: goal, location and time.



## (1) Nonfocused goal

The goal is the one to whom the action is directed. It always occurs immediately following the experiencer in a sentence. It may be either a personal noun or a pronoun. If a personal noun occurs as goal, the location particle  $b\hat{e}$  always occurs with it:

Kóle bè Mà.

I arrived at/to (the place of) Father.

Ø-arrive.I LOC Father

Gefet me bè Libun Bong. B-reach we,EX LOC woman big We reached at/to (the place of) Big Woman.

Tungóe bè Mrs. Bargas. Ø-sleep.I LOC Mrs. Bargas I slept at (the place of) Mrs. Bargas.

Nù mc bè le Yê Bong. 8-to.be we,EX LOC PL Mother Big We live at (the place of) Big Mother and her companions.

Sidek bè Dwata yo. B-bad-B LOC God that That is bad to God.

If a pronoun occurs as goal, it is a pronoun from the -u set, and it always occurs with the preposition bélê. This preposition has a wide area of meaning. In English it would be expressed by 'to, for, with, among, from', etc.:

Tungô le bélê me. Ø-sleep they PREP us,EX They slept with us/at our house.

Ne lawa béléu Wè Walan. and Ø-visit-Ø PREP,me Friend Walan

And Friend Walan visited me.

Slób béléu bè gunuhu mken Ø-stop.by-Ø PREP,me LOC place.my m-food

He stopped by to (see) me at the place where I was eating young coconut.

agit.
young.coconut

Baling lii **béléen** yem suk yó. become taboo-Ø **PREP**,him that knife there That knife (already mentioned) becomes taboo for him.

- (2) Location (see sec. 10)
- (3) Time (see sec. 11)

### 8.1.3 Display of an experiencer focus sentence

The display of an EFS (Figure 3) summarizes the relative position of the participants and their functions. The focused experiencer is the only obligatory participant. It must occur either following the verb or preceding it. It is optional whether or not it is reiterated at the end of the sentence for emphasis. Goal, location and time are optional participants.



	Verb Affixation ne-, Ø, me-								
	-/+ Experiencer (contrast)	V e	+ Experiencer	+/- Goal	+/- Location, Time	+/- Experiencer (emphasis)			
Noun	ø	r	Ø	bè	bè/Ø	ke			
Pron <b>oun</b>	ou	D	-е	bélê+-u	_	dou			

Figure 3. Experiencer focus sentence

Ø = unmarked

+/- = optional

-- = does not occur

-/+ = if not in experiencer position following verb

= obligatory

#### 8.2 Actor focus sentence (AFS)

The actor in Tboli is the one doing the action. A sentence where the actor is in focus will always have a verb with an affix from the me- set, either me-, m-, -em- or -m-.

An AFS and an EFS are almost identical as far as participants in a sentence are concerned. The only difference between the two is that in an AFS a nonfocused object may occur. It cannot in an EFS.

An experiencer and an actor are identical except that they have different functions. Whereas the experiencer is the one who experiences whatever is expressed in the stative verb, the actor is the one doing the action expressed in a nonstative verb. Just as the -e set of pronouns is used for experiencer, so it is used for actor. Just as the pronoun experiencer is attracted to certain modifiers in preverb position, so it is with the pronoun actor. As the experiencer can be placed before the verb for contrast or at the end of the sentence for emphasis, so it is with the actor. Just as the goal is an optional participant in EFS, so it is in AFS. There is only one new participant to be learned in an AFS, that is the optional nonfocused object.

Examples of the verb affixation which indicate that the focused participant is an actor are given below:

Mken Linda.

Linda is eating.

m-food Linda

Bemlihe sedinas.

I bought sardines.

-em-buy.I sardines

Ne tmiba

Mà.

And Father made a ricefield.

and -m-ricefield Father

#### 8.2.1 Grammatical forms of actor

The actor may be a noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun.

#### (1) Noun as actor

A noun functioning as actor may be either a person or an indefinite thing. It is unmarked, but its position following the verb determines its role:

Deng myehen Alun.

Alun has already married.

PT m-spouse Alun

Tey mbak ohu.

Some dog is really barking.

INT m-bark dog



Deng gotu matay silau.
PT all m-die corn.my

All my corn has died.

(2) Noun phrase as actor

A noun phrase functioning as an actor is identical to a noun phrase functioning as an experiencer. It may be a noun with a possessive, a plural marker, a descriptive or a demonstrative.

(a) With the plural markers kem and le

Mensag kem logi. m-shout PL male The men shouted.

Mnagì kem dumuhu. m-study PL companion.my My companions are studying.

Mken le Yê Udî. m-food PL Mother Little Little Mother and her companions are eating.

(b) With a demonstrative from the nim set

Botong mkik nim yehenu.
to.the.extent m-cry this spouse.my

My wife felt so badly she cried.

Tey mbak yem ohu Min.

INT m-bark that dog Min

Min's dog really barks.

(c) With a descriptive phrase

Bud mnagi Fóg Udi. again m-study Brother.in.law Little Little Brother-in-law is studying again.

Ne mbel tey lenos bong. and m-come.up INT wind big

And a very strong wind came up.

The noun phrase as actor always occurs at the end of an AFS whenever either an object or a goal are included. At the same time a pronoun representing the actor also occurs in the regular position for actor following the verb:

Smakay le ówóng yó kem ngà.
-m-ride they airplane that PL child

The children rode in the airplane.

Ma le koyu kem dumu.

The others are fetching wood.

m-fetch they wood PL companion

(3) Pronoun as actor

When the actor is represented by a pronoun, the focused -e set is used,<sup>5</sup> and it occurs in the regular actor position following the verb:



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The only exception to this rule is the word *mon* 'said'. It always takes the nonfocused -u set of pronouns for an

Tmonok le.
-m-ground they

They walked.

Mbele sotu lata halay.

I'm looking for one can of unhulled rice.

m-look.for.I one can unhulled.rice.

Mógów me bè Hlilan. m-go we,EX LOC Hlilan We are going to Hlilan.

Ne monu mò ke Alun, and m-said. I PREP NF Alun

And I said to Alun.

Ne monen mò do, and m-said.he PREP me

And he said to me,

There are several classes of adverbs occurring before the verb that always attract the -e set of pronouns used as actor (see sec. 3.2.1):

Deng le ma koyu kem dumu.

PT they m-fetch wood PL companion

The others already fetched some wood.

Tolo le mken le Yê Udi. still they m-eat PL Mother Little Little Mother and her companions are still eating.

Móyón le muta kem Tboli. almost they m-harvest PL Tboli Tboli are almost ready to harvest.

Tóe dmadu dlem. would.like.I -m-plow nearby.below I would like to plow (in the area) down below.

There are other classes of adverbs occurring before the verb which also attract the actor propoun, but with these modifiers, the focused -e set pronoun is replaced with the non-focused -u set:

Sónmoen: temngel do yem tau bong. always.he -em-look.at me that person big

That big person was always looking at me.

Olon hmowon kum yem Bang. only.he -m-tease us,EX that Bang

Bang only teased us.

Lelen smulat bè mekina. keep.on.he -m-write LOC machine He kept on writing on the typewriter.

Ket kiwólen mukét du tfung halien. each repeat.he m-peel it scab sore.his He repeatedly kept pecling the scab off his sore.

Ke suléken kemlo, là snukay le du. if s-return.he -em-weed NEG -n-pay they him

If he weeds only once, they do not pay him.

There are certain sentence conjunctions which do the same, attracting the pronoun actor. then changing it from the focused -e set to the nonfocused -u set:



Ominu lemolò yem él boluyen Kling. then.I -em-follow that river name.it Kling Then I followed the river called Kling.

Omin le hemken kum. then they h-em-food us,EX Then they fed us.

Igou tolo mken yem agit, tódô while.I still m-food that young.coconut just While I was still eating young coconut, I immediately saw (him) coming from below.

tonu gu bwak. Ø-see.I from lower.area

Unihen lemwót, unihen mton du. immediate.he -em-leave immediate.he m-see it As soon as he left, immediately he saw

## (4) Position of actor for contrast

As in EFS, whenever a contrast is needed with another person or thing for clarification, the actor is shifted from its normal position following the verb to the position immediately preceding the verb. In this position the pronoun used as actor is from the focused ou set. The emphasis particle se may or may not occur following the actor:

Lu se tmonok. they EMPH -m-ground They were the ones who walked.

Dwata semgyok kuy dyó.

God -em-take.care.of you,PL there

God is the one to take care of all of you there.

Yadan bud tles semgyok ke Obun. Yadan again Ø-exchange -em-take.care.of NF Dove Yadan is the one again taking his turn to take care of Dove.

## (5) Position of actor for emphasis

The actor, like the experiencer, is often emphasized by reiterating it at the end of a sentence. This is done by using either a pronoun from the nonfocused dou set or by using a proper name with the nonfocus particle ke. The emphasis particle se may or may not occur just before the pronoun:

Munge dou. m-go.along.I me I'm going along as for me.

Mung Linda se kun m-go.along Linda EMPH her Linda is going along as for her.

Tmondo Ibid se kun.
-m-deccive-Ø Ibid EMPH him

He deceived Ibid as for him.

Fen mfas lefò ke Lewadin.

ID m-cut.grass coconut NF Lewadin

As for Lewadin, he cut grass (under) the coconut (palms).

Tolo kemgis uniba ke Témê. still.he -em-strong -m-ricefield NF Grandfather As for Grandfather, he is still strong to make a ricefield.



## 8.2.2 Participants that are optional

There are four other participants that may occur in an AFS as nonfocused participants: object, goal, location and time.

## 8.2.2.1 Nonfocused object

An object may be either a person or thing directly involved in the action of the verb, very often something is done to it. It always occurs immediately following the actor except when a goal is included in the sentence. Then the goal takes the position following the actor, and the object follows the goal. The object may be a noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun.

## (1) Noun as nonfocused object

A noun functioning as an object may be either a person or an indefinite noun. If the object is a person, the nonfocus particle ke occurs before the person's name:

Ne omin le tmudà ke Was. and then they -m-throw NF Monkey And then they threw Monkey out.

Ou tmóbóng ke Mà haya.

I'll be the one to help Father tomorrow.

I -m-help NF Father tomorrow

If the noun is a thing, only an indefinite noun is used, and it always implies that only a part of the whole of whatever is named is intended. It is unmarked, but its role is determined by its position in the sentence:<sup>6</sup>

Mangayi kut él. m-fetch.you us.two(polite) water Please fetch some water for us.

Bemli le lemnaw bè fedyan. -em-buy they vegetable LOC market

They bought some vegetables in the market.

Deng le ma koyu kem dumu.

post they m-get tree PL companion

The others fetched some wood.

#### (2) Noun phrase as nonfocused object

(a) With the plural marker kem

Móyóe tmóbóng kem dumuw. m-want.I -m-help PL companion.my I want to help my companions.

Ou gel mtem yó kem klatas I always m-burn that PL paper I am the one to burn all the paper she always wastes.

gel namaen. always n-waste.she

(b) With a demonstrative from the nim set

Tódô me sbalu semgyok yem safi. just we,EX Ø-take.turns -em-care.for that steer We just take turns taking care of the steer.



In the following three examples, if a verb from the OFS is used with an affix from the ne- set, it means they will get all the water in the spring, all the vegetables in the market and all the wood in the forest, not just some of it.

Omin le mtem yem gunù. then they m-burn that house

And then they burn the house.

(c) With a descriptive phrase

Mulu le sfu soging. m-plant they shoot banana They planted shoots of the banana.

Ominen milot sudengen labi. then.he m-draw.out sword.his very.old Then he drew out his very old sword.

(d) Reiteration of a specific object with du 'he/she/it'.

Whenever the actor occurs before the verb in the contrast position, a specific object marked with a demonstrative from the *nim* set is reiterated by using the pronoun *du* 'he/she/it' which occurs immediately preceding the object:

Uu tmiba du yem numa yó. you -m-ricefield it that forest that You be the one to make a field of that forest.

O semning du yem filak.

I -em-pocket it that money

I'm the one to pocket the money.

Reiterating the object with the pronoun du 'it' may also occur whenever the actor has been attracted from its normal position following the verb to an adverb or a sentence conjunction occurring before the verb:

Ket kifuhu mungol du yem tutul Dwata. each night. I m-hear it that story God

Each night I hear the story of God.

Sónmoen tendo malak du yem ngà. always.she continue m-lead it that child

She is always leading that child.

loe mulu du dê kay lemnaw. would.like.I m-plant it many kinds vegetable

I would like to plant many kinds of vegetables.

Omin le hmunges du kumù. then they -m-wrapper it blanket Then they wrap it up in a blanket.

Ket kiwólen mukét du tefung halien. cach repeat.he m-peel it scab sore.his **He** repeatedly kept peeling the scab off his sore.

#### (3) Pronoun as nonfocused object

When a pronoun is used as the nonfocused object, it is always a pronoun from the nonfocused dou set. When this occurs, the actor of the sentence is found either before the verb or in sentence final position when it is a noun phrase:

Dwata semgyok kuy dyó.
God -em-take.care.of you,PL there

God will be the one to take care of all of you there.

Du tmolok do. he/she -m-tcach me He will be the one to teach me.



Olon hmowon kum yem Bang. only.he -m-tease us,EX that Bang

He only teased us, that Bang.

Sónmou tendo hemdem kóm. always. I continue -em-think you, sG

I'm always continually thinking of you.

Omin le hemken kum. then they h-em-food us,EX Then they fed us.

## 8.2.2.2 Nonfocused goal

A participant functioning as a nonfocused goal may also occur in an AFS. As in the EFS, the goal is the one to whom the action is directed, and it always occurs immediately following the actor. It may be either a personal noun or a pronoun.

## (1) Personal noun as nonfocused goal

Since goal is a nonfocused participant, the nonfocus particle ke occurs along with the personal noun. The location marker bè may also be used to indicate the goal:

Munge ke Adil.

I'll go along with Adil.

m-go.along.with.I NF Adil

Klifótu hemwit du ke Fludi yem filak. Ø-forget.I -em-send it NF Fludi that money I forgot to send the money with Fludi.

Miti bè Bé soging haya.
m-bring.you,SG LOC Grandmother banana tomorrow

Bring some bananas for Grandmother tomorrow.

Yake hemyuhi bè Yè sfolò filak. good.if -em-good.you,sG LOC Mother ten pesos Good if you put away for Mother ten pesos.

#### (2) Noun phrase as nonfocused goal

Whenever the goal is a long noun phrase, it shifts from the regular goal position following the actor to the end of the sentence. It occurs with the location marker  $b\dot{e}$ :

Yake hemyuhi filak bè kem ngà good.if -em-good.you,sg money LOC PL child Good if you put away money for the children who are studying.

*mnagi*. m-study

Miti soging bè le Yê Udì. m-bring.you,SG banana LOC PL Mother Little

Bring bananas for Little Mother and her companions.

#### (3) Pronoun as nonfocused goal

As in the EFS, when a pronoun is used as goal, a pronoun from the -u set may be used along with the preposition bélê. The many examples given are intended to show the wide range of meaning this preposition has in Tboli:

Tô hembalù béléu klembew. would.like-Ø -em-sell PREP.me carabao

He would like to sell me a carabao.



Gel semfala du bélê me yem tutul Dwata. always-Ø -em-read it PREP us, Ex that story God

She always read to us a story about God.

Du gna matay bélê le. he/she/it first m-die PREP them He was the first one among them to die.

Là móyóe mdóm bélê le. NEG m-like.I m-borrow PREP them I don't like to borrow from them.

Mkene bélê le. m-food.I PREP them I ate with them.

Mvake bélê ye. m-shares.I PREP you,PL I'm ashamed to you.

But there is also a difference between EFS and AFS in what may be used as goal. In EFS, only a pronoun from the -u set with bélê can be used. In AFS, a pronoun from the dou set may also be used. When the dou set is used, its meaning seems to be limited to either beneficiary or recipient rather than directional. Usually an object occurs along with it, cither stated or clearly understood:

do sfolò filak. Yake hemyuhi good.if -em-good.you,SG me ten peso Good if you put away ten pesos for me.

do soging haya. Miti m-bring.you,SG me banana tomorrow Bring some bananas for me tomorrow.

Dwata bemlay kuy ketngón. God -em-give you,PL wisdom

God gives you wisdom.

Yê tmóbóng do yem tlu Mother temporary -m-help me that three hundred Mother lent me temporarily three hundred (pesos).

Whenever the pronoun 'him/her/its' occurs as goal, the pronoun du from the focused ou set is used instead of kun from the dou set:

Dwata bemlay du ketngón. God -em-give him wisdom God gives him wisdom.

Υĉ tmóbóng du yem tlu latu. hlun Mother temporary -m-help him that three hundred Mother lent him temporarily three hundred (pesos).

Using du as goal can become confusing when in the same sentence it is also used as object. But the regular order of participants is that the du used as object always precedes the one used as goal:

Ne omin le tmulón du do. and then they -m-tell it me And then they told it to me.

tmulón du kóm Yê Lomi. Deng dô maybe -m-tell it you Mother New

Maybe New Mother has already told you about it.



Ne ominu bud tmolok du du yem liholen. and then.I again -m-teach it him that tune.it And then I again taught him the tune.

There are a few instances where a pronoun from the dou set can be used interchangeably with the preposition bélê for the goal without any apparent change of meaning:

Holi

nni do.

Really pray for me.

INT,you,SG m-pray me

Holi mni

béléu.

Really pray for me.

INT, you m-pray PREP, me

Géhéli

bud smulat do.

Quickly write to me again.

quick.you,SG again -m-letter me

Géhéli

bud smulat béléu.

Quickly write to me again.

quick.you,sG again -m-letter PREP,me

Mungi

dou mool.

Accompany me to the lower area.

m-accompany.you,sG me lower.area

Mung

béléu mool.

Accompany me to the lower area.

m-accompany.you,sG PREP,me lower.area

8.2.2.3 Location (see sec. 10)

8.2.2.4 Time (see sec. 11)

## 8.2.3 Display of an actor focus sentence

The display of an AFS (Figure 4) is divided into two sections. The top section summarizes the relative positions of the participants in an AFS and their status, i.e., whether they are obligatory in the sentence or optional.

In order to show more easily the possible positions of the focused actor in relation to the other participants, the various positions are charted on separate lines: (1) normal position following verb (including the position used for a long noun phrase (NP) as actor); (2) preverb contrast position; and (3) a preverb position when a pronoun actor is attracted to an adverb modifying the verb.

The lower section shows the grammatical forms used to indicate the functions of the various participants.



Verb Affixation me-								
	Actor (Contrast)		Actor	Goal	Object	Actor (NP)	Location/ Time	Actor (Emph)
Normal	<del></del>	V e r b	+*	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
Contrast	+			+/-	+/-*	_	+/-	
Attracted to Adverb	+			+/-	+/-*	+/-	+/-	+/-
Noun	Ø	v	Ø	ke bè	ke	Ø	bè Ø	ke
Pronoun	ou	e r b	-e	bélê + -u dou	dou			dou

Figure 4. Actor focus sentence

\*Whenever the actor occurs in preverb position, and a specific object marked with a demonstrative from the nim set is being spoken about, the pronoun du 'it' always occurs immediately before the object.

# 8.3 Object focus sentence (OFS)

In the introduction to this chapter on the focus system, it was mentioned that the five sentence types could be divided into two groups based on their similarities. Experiencer and actor focus make up one group; object, goal and instrument focus make up the second group. Since an OFS is used far more frequently than either the goal or instrument focus, it will be considered first.

The object in Tboli may be either a person or a thing directly involved in the action. Very often something is done to it. A focused object will always be a particular, specific object, not an indefinite one as in AFS (see sec. 8.2.2).

Obligatory participants in an OFS are actor and object. When these two are the only participants in the sentence the order is verb, actor, object. When a nonfocused goal is included the order is verb, actor, goal, object. Time or location may occur at the end of a sentence.

A sentence where the object is in focus will either have a verb with an affix from the ne- set (ne-, n-, -en- and -n-) or no affix at all. Examples of these are given below:

Nangayem kudà. n-fetch.you,SG horse	Fetch the horse.
Benosen kuluhen tum sowuen-hide.it head.its that boa.constrictor	The boa constrictor hid its head.
Knoduhu lu. -n-pity.I them	I pity them.
Gotu ton me lu. all S-see we,EX them	We saw them all.
Eteden uu ditu ta. G-deliver.it you,sg there up	It delivers you there to the top.



## 8.3.1 Actor as nonfocused obligatory participant

The actor is one of the obligatory participants in an OFS, but it is not in focus. It may be an unmarked noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun from the nonfocused -u set (see sec. 4.2.1). In the examples that follow. the focused object will be bold print. But the purpose of the examples is to show how the nonfocused actor is used in an OFS.

#### (1) Noun as nonfocused actor

As with the EFS and AFS, the noun functioning as actor may be either a proper noun or a common one, and it occurs in the regular position following the verb:

Nwit Mà **mi**.

Father brought us along.

n-bring Father us, Ex

Ton Gadu yem ulal.

Gadu saw the snake.

#-see Gadu that snake

Nbak ohu yem ulal. n-bark dog that snake The dog barked at the snake.

## (2) Noun phrase as nonfocused actor

As in both EFS and AFS, all four types of noun phrases may function as an actor: (1) noun + possessive; (2) noun + plural markers; (3) noun + adjective; and (4) noun + demonstrative. Examples of all four types are given below:

Gel nmò kem Tboli nim nii. always n-make PL Tboli this this,sp Tholi always make this (specific thing).

Deng tenles le Yê Bong yem kdaw
PT --en-change PL Mother Big that day

Big Mother and her companions changed the day for our studying.

mò knagì me. for k-study our,EX

Hnebel yein maen yem libun leged.
-n-look.for that father.his that girl industrious

His father looks for an industrious girl.

Fcn nwit yem logi yem kimu.

ID n-bring that man that property

The man is the one to bring along the property.

## (3) Pronoun as nonfocused actor

The pronoun set used as actor in OFS differs from the pronoun set used as actor in EFS and AFS. Since the actor is now a nonfocused participant, a pronoun from the nonfocused -u set is used:

Naba le tniba.

They are clearing the ricefield.

n-clear they -n-ricefield

Tonen yem ulal.

He saw the snake.

#-see.he that snake



Gel nwitu kudà bè ni. always n-bring.I horse LOC here I always bring the horse here.

Ndekem

yem silà.

You pound the corn.

n-pound.you,SG that corn

The conjunction na/na a, sometimes written ne/ne e is often used in OFS. It always occurs immediately before the verb, and it indicates that the action of the verb is the first in a series of activities. It attracts the pronoun actor from its normal position following the verb:

New e nangay kudà.

First I'll fetch the horse.

first.I? n-fetch horse

Nen e nauy yem tau dumuhen.

First he will visit his companion.

first.he? n-visit that person companion.his

Ne me e henebel le Mà. first we,EX? -en-look.for PL Father First we looked for Father and the rest of the family.

There is a variation of this modifier that seems to mean the same thing, ne ne/na na:

Bnogulem sen, okóm nem ne hewót o. Beat it indeed, but first let me leave.
-n-beat.you,SG EMPH but first.you,SG? h-leave me

Nam na hnifót o.

First forgive me.

first.you,sg? -n-forget me

Naw na tnagak lu. first.!? -n-leave them

First I will leave them.

# 8.3.2 Grammatical forms of focused object

(1) Noun as object

The noun used as a focused object is always a particular, specific object. It is unmarked, but its role is determined by its position in the sentence following the actor:

Nangayem kudà.

Fetch the horse.

n-fetch.you,SG horse

Nmò le féten.

They made a rope (for tying him).

n-make they rope/tie.his

Niten asayen.

He brought along his ax.

n-bring.he ax.his

I held the gun.

Nogotu snafang. n-hold.I gun

A proper name used as the focused object is also unmarked:

Tnaba le Fun Bului.

They call the Owner of the Mountain.

-n-call they Owner Mountain



Tonu Séng. Ø-sce.I Seng I saw Seng.

Bud snukatu

Yê.

Again I deceived Mother.

again -n-deceive.I Mother

(2) Noun phrase as object

Just as all four types of noun phrases may be used as actor in an OFS, so all four types may also function as the focused object:

Tnóbóngem kem dumum.

You help your companions.

-n-help.you,SG PL companion.your,SG

Gotu bnoluy Lewadin kem fayen:

Lewadin called all his sisters-in-law by

(their) names.

Nauy tekuy kem benwu etu.

-n-name Lewadin PL sister.in.law.his

Let's all visit those countries over there.

n-visit we,IN PL country DIR,there

Nbal le yó kem fun gunù.

They asked permission from the owners

of the house.

n-ask permission they that PL owner house

tuónu.

I borrowed the carabao of my father-in-

law.

n-borrow.I that carabao father.in.law.my

They visit the young woman.

Nauy le sum ngà libun. n-visit they that child female

yem bew

Ndek le yem silà.
n-pound they that corn

They pounded the corn.

Haya nwitu woli Bedung. tomorrow n-bring.I older.brother Bedung

Tomorrow I'll bring with me (my) older

brother Bedung.

Tódô tonu Mà Bong just Ø-see.I Father Big I just saw Big Father.

(3) Pronoun as object

Ndómu

Since the object is the focused participant in an OFS, a pronoun from the focused ou set is used:

Bnogulen lu.

He beat them.

n-club.he them

Eteden uu ta.

It Jelivers you to the top.

#-deliver.it you,sg up

They kept me (back) for themselves.

Nali le o. n-keep.for.oneself they me



Nwit le mi.
n-bring they us,EX

They brought us along.

When the pronoun used as object refers to a thing, it would be expected that the pronoun du 'he/she/it' would be used, but it never is. It is left implied, as can be seen in the following examples:

Gotu ken sit ne sdô ne ungé. all B-eat ricebird and pig and rat The ricebirds and pigs and rats ate (it)

Ne fen nwa yó kem tuónen. and ID n-take that PL parent.in.law.his And his parents-in-law are the ones to take (it).

Hendem le Yê Lomi.
-en-think PL Mother New

New Mother and her companions are thinking about (it).

# (4) Position of object for contrast

As in EFS and AFS, the focused participant may occur in the position before the verb for contrast if necessary.

(a) Noun as object in contrast position

Kudà nangay le.
horse n-fetch they

It is a horse they are fetching (not a carabao).

Soging ne ubi tnógó le. banana and sweet.potato -n-cook they It was bananas and sweet potatoes they cooked (not rice).

(b) Noun phrase as object in contrast position

Tey dê tau nékéten. INT many person n-bite.he He has bitten very many people.

Nem latu filak nwitu. six hundred peso n-bring.I It was six hundred pesos I brought along.

Tey sdô bong nbô Mà.

INT pig big n-carry.on.back Father

It was a very big pig Father carried on his back.

(c) Pronoun as object in contrast position

Ou gna bekesem.

I first \( \mathbf{G} \)-tic.up.you,SG

I'll be the one you tie up first.

Ne du ne lolou ni kmoen ni. and he now B-follow.I this time.it now And he is the one I follow at this time.

Lu tnabahen. they -n-call.he They are the ones he called.

### (5) Position of object for emphasis

As in EFS and AFS, emphasis may be given to the focused participant by reiterating it at the end of the sentence by using a pronoun from the nonfocused dou set. But this is not done as frequently in OFS as in EFS or AFS:

Tnóbóngem se o dou.

You help me as for me.

-n-help.you,SG EMPH me me

Tnobong tekuy se lu kul.

Let's all help them as for them.

-n-help we,IN EMPH them them

### 8.3.3 Participants that are optional

There are three other participants that may occur in an OFS as nonfocused participants: goal, location and time.

### 8.3.3.1 Nonfocused goal

As in AFS, the participant functioning as goal in an OFS is the one to whom the action is directed, either a recipient of the action or a beneficiary of it. It may be a personal noun with the nonfocus particle ke, a noun phrase, a nonfocused pronoun from the -u set used with  $b\acute{e}l\acute{e}$  or a nonfocused pronoun from the dou set used alone.

#### (1) Personal noun as nonfocused goal

Tólóng blayen ke fógen. different Ø-give.he NF brother.in.law.his He gave his brother-in-law a different one.

Sotu kudà blay le ke Min. one horse Ø-give they NF Min

They gave one horse to Min.

Hesegyoku ke Kasi yem bew logi. he-care.for.I NF Kasi that carabao male

I'll let Kasi take care of the male carabao.

Tulónem ke yehen Fining. Ø-tell.you,SG NF spouse Fining Tell (it) to the husband of Fining.

# (2) Noun phrase as nonfocused goal

As in AFS, when a rather long noun phrase is used as goal, it occurs with the location marker  $b\dot{e}$  and shifts to the location position at the end of the sentence:

Tódô blay le yem kudà bè tu kem just Begive they that horse LOC there PL They just gave the horse to those other people.

dumu tau.
companion person



### (3) Pronoun as nonfocused goal

Just as in the AFS, the nonfocused goal may be indicated by either a pronoun from the -u set used with the preposition  $b\hat{e}l\hat{e}$  or a pronoun from the dou set.

#### (a) The -u set with bélê

Bnayadu béléen msó.

I paid him for the hulled rice.

-n-pay.I PREP,him hulled.rice

Benli le béléu afus.

They bought bamboo from me.

-en-buy they PREP,me bamboo

Alì dê snólók le béléu.

They asked me about so many things.

INT many -n-ask they PREP,me

Hendón le bélê ye hnolo. -en-expect they PREP you,PL hair.oil They are expecting hair oil from you.

#### (b) The dou set

Lomi blay le do. recent Segive they me

They recently gave (it) to me.

Hnungesem kum mò bnotu me.
-n-wrapper.you,SG us,EX for n-stone our,EX

Wrap it up for us for our lunch.

Kenlo Yê de -en-weeding.tool Mother me

Mother weeded my newly planted field for me.

lamihu. field.my

#### 8.3.3.2 Location (see sec. 10)

#### 8.3.3.3 Time (see sec. 11)

#### 8.3.4 Display of an object focus sentence

The display of an OFS (Figure 5) is divided into two sections. The top section summarizes the relative positions of the participants in an OFS and their status, i.e., whether they are obligatory in the sentence or optional. In order to show more easily the possible positions of the focused object participant in relation to the other participants, they have been displayed on two separate lines, normal position and preverb contrast position.

The lower section shows the grammatical forms used to indicate the functions of the various participants.



			Verb A	ffixation ne-//		_	
	Object (Contrast)	v	Actor	Goal	Object	Location, Time	Object (Emphasis)
Normal		С	+	+/-	+	+/-	+/-
Contrast	+	r b	+	+/-	_	+/-	
Noun	Ø		Ø	ke, bè	Ø	bè/Ø	ke
Pronoun	ou		-u	bélê + -u dou	on	_	dou

Figure 5. Object focus sentence

#### 8.4 Goal focus sentence (GFS)

The goal in Tboli is the participant to whom the action is directed. In English this would be an indirect object. The goal always occurs immediately following the actor.

There are two nonfocused participants that are also obligatory in a GFS: actor and object. Actor occurs in the regular actor position following the verb, the object occurs immediately following the goal. A sentence where the goal is in focus will have a verb with an affix from the ne- set, either ne-, n-, -en- or -n-.

A GFS is very similar to the OFS. One noticeable difference is that relatively few verbs can be used in a GFS, whereas almost all the verbs in the language can be used in an OFS. Verbs in both sentence types are affixed with ne-, but certain OFS verbs occur unaffixed as well. Both sentence types use the nonfocused -u set of pronouns for actor, and the ou set for the focused participant. Both use unmarked nouns for actor or object. In a GFS, the goal is always a person, the object is always a thing.

There are two other nonfocused participants in a GFS that are optional: location and time. Examples of the verb affixation which indicates that the focused participant is a goal are given in the examples below:

Nkay le o bigu.

n-serve.food they me winnowing.tray

They served food to me on a winnowing tray.

Benlay le mi klatas.

-en-give they us paper

Hnogot ye o klembew ne dadu.

h-n-hold you,PL me carabao and plow

They served food to me on a winnowing tray.

Give to me the responsibility of a carabao and a plow.

#### 8.4.1 Nonfocused obligatory participants

There are two nonfocused obligatory participants in a GFS, the actor and the object. The actor is like an actor in an OFS in that it may be an unmarked noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun from the nonfocused -u set.

The object in a GFS differs from the object in a OFS in that it is always a thing, i.e., a common noun or a noun phrase. It is never a personal noun or a pronoun. It occurs following the goal, and its role is determined by its position in the sentence. Examples of both the nonfocused actor and object can be seen in section 8.4.2.



# 8.4.2 Grammatical forms of focused goal

A noun functioning as a goal is always a person (a personal noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun). It occurs following the actor. Since it is in focus, it is unmarked. Its role is determined by its position in the sentence.

## (1) Noun as goal

Since it is in focus, it is unmarked:

Adù bulung hulô. Benlay me -en-give we,EX Adù medicine red

We gave Adù some red medicine.

## (2) Noun phrase as goal

A noun phrase functioning as goal is the same as when a noun phrase is used in other focus types. It may be a noun plus a possessive, a plural marker, an adjective or a demonstrative:

Hol bnasahem kem tuha yem libun. INT -n-give.gift.you,sG PL old that girl

You must really give gifts to the parents of the girl.

Benlay me le Adù bulung hulô. -en-give we,EX PL Adù medicine red

We gave the red medicine to Adu and his companions.

des blututen tising. Benlaven vem libun -en-give.she that woman sick stomach.her ring

She gave a ring to the woman with a stomachache.

tonok. Benlay le ket tou -en-give they each person land

They gave land to each person.

**Oguhen** tum libun tum kun Ø-hand.to.her that girl that his

He hands his own quid of betel nut to the girl.

namak. n-betel.nut.quid

#### (3) Pronoun as goal

Since the goal is in focus, the pronoun used for it is from the focused ou set:

o kudà ekimel. Neteden n-deliver.him me horse DIR, early.afternoon He delivered a horse to me early yesterday afternoon.

mi soging ne bkadu. h-en-send you,PL us,Ex banana and avocado Send some bananas and avocados to us.

Benlay Ben ou snafang. -en-give Bcn me gun

Ben gave a gun to me.

Ke wen dù sigi ye kut, if there is left brush your, PL us, DU (polite) If you have any toothbrushes left, please send me one.

henwit h-en-send you,PL me one

o sotu.



### (4) Position of goal for contrast

Since the goal is the focused participant, it may occur in preverb position for contrast if necessary:

Adù benlay me bulung hulô. Adù -en-give we,EX medicine red

It was to Adù that we gave some red medicine.

Ket tau benlay le tonok. each person -en-give they land

It was to each person that they gave

Kem tuha yem libun hol bnasahem. PL old that girl INT -n-give.gift.you,SG

It is to the parents of the girl that you give gifts.

Ou henwit ye sigi. me h-en-send you,PL brush It is to me you send the toothbrush.

### 8.4.3 Participants that are optional

There are only two participants that are optional in a GFS, location and time.

- (1) Location (see sec. 10)
- (2) Time (see sec. 11)

### 8.4.4 Display of a goal focus sentence

The display of a GFS (Figure 6) summarizes the relative position of the participants and their functions. There are three obligatory participants, the focused goal, the nonfocused actor and the object. The goal occurs either following the actor or preceding the verb.

Verb Affixation ne-						
	-/+ Goal (Contrast)	V e	+ Actor	+ Goal	+ Object	+/- Location, Time
Noun	Ø	r	ø	Ø	Ø	bè/Ø
Pronoun	ou	7 b	-u	ou	_	

Figure 6. Goal focus sentence

Ø = unmarked +/-= optional = does not occur -/+ = if not in goal position following actor = obligatory

#### 8.5 Instrument focus sentence (IFS)

The instrument in Tboli is the thing used to carry out the action described by the verb. A sentence where the instrument is in focus will have an unaffixed verb:

Dekem du dek bong.

Pound it with the big pestle.

#-pound.you, SG it pestle big

Instrument focus is probably the least used focus in Tboli simply because in the common activities of daily life, the instrument used for these activities would be understood without having to name it. Only when the instrument is not the one ordinarily used would it be necessary to identify it in an IFS.



Even though this is the least used sentence type, there is in Tboli root words a great potential for instrument focus, since so many root words can be understood to mean either the instrument used to perform the action (i.e., as a noun) or the action itself when using the instrument (i.e., as a verb). The following are examples:

dek 'a pestle' 'to pound with a pestle' dek 'a weeding tool' klo 'to weed using a weeding tooi' klo bulung 'medicine' bulung 'to treat (someone) with medicine' éhék 'a sharpening stone' éhék 'to sharpen (something) by using a sharpening stone' 'a tie between the ankles used for climbing (a coconut palm)' kaf 'to climb (a coconut palm) by using a tie between the ankles' kaf 'that used to hold (something)' ogot 'to hold (something) with (something)' ogot

When these root words occur with an affix from the ne- set, they become verbs indicating object focus. The participants that are obligatory in an IFS are actor, object and instrument. A goal never occurs in this type of sentence. Both location and time are optional.

## 8.5.1 Nonfocused obligatory participants

There are two nonfocused obligatory participants in an IFS: actor and object.

The actor is like the actor in both the OFS and the GFS in that it occurs in the regular actor position following the verb, and it may be a noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun from the nonfocused -u set (see sec. 4.2.1).

The object is the person or thing affected by the action, and it occurs immediately following the actor. It may be a noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun from the nonfocused dou set. (For the use of the focused pronoun du for the nonfocused 'him/her/its', see sec. 4.2.2.)

Since the object is not in focus, a personal noun used as object always occurs with the nonfocus particle ke. Other nouns are unmarked, but their role is determined by their position in the sentence.

#### 8.5.2 Grammatical forms of focused instrument

The focused instrument may be either a common noun or a noun phrase. It is unmarked, but its role is determined by its position in the sentence following the object.

#### (1) Noun as instrument

Solokem du lunay. Ø-light.you it sap.of.lunay.tree	Make a light from the sap of the lunay tree.
Ofok Walan du asay. Ø-chop.down Walan it ax	Walan chopped it down with an ax.
Bogulen ke Mélê Botu dek. Ø-club.he NF Mélê Botu pestle	He beat Mélê Botu with a pestle.



#### (2) Noun phrase as instrument

A noun phrase is used whenever the instrument is: (1) plural, i.e., a common noun marked by the plural marker *kem*; (2) a specific thing spoken of earlier in the immediate situation marked with *nim* set demonstrative; or (3) an unmarked descriptive phrase:

Dekem du dek bong. \$\mathfrak{G}\$-pound.you,\$G it pestle big Pound it with the big pestle.

Klohu du suk udi koni. G-weed.I it knife little just.now

I just now weeded it with the little knife.

Hbukem do bulung Yê. B-smoke.you,SG me medicine Mother Smoke me with Mother's medicine.

Okol le yem lan kem fala benli le. Bedig they that road PL shovel -en-buy they They dug out the road with shovels they bought.

Bulungu kóm yem bulung henyuhu. Ø-medicine.I you, SG that medicine -en-good.I I'll treat you with the medicine I put away.

Ifuhem ke Ngà Bun kgal Ø-wipe.off.you,SG NF Ngà Bun blouse

Wipe off Ngà Bun with your worn out blouse.

bolokem.

wear.out.your,SG

#### (3) Position of instrument for contrast

Since the instrument is in focus, it is the participant that may occur before the verb for contrast if necessary. When the instrument occurs in this preverb position, and a specific object marked with a nim set demonstrative is being spoken about, the pronoun du 'it' always occurs immediately before the object:

#### (a) Noun

Luos bkesem du yem gunù nmoem. rattan Ø-tie.you,SG it that house n-make.you Use rattan to tie the house you're making.

Asay ofok Walan du. ax H-chop.down Walan it It was with an ax that Walan chopped it down.

Lunay solokem du. sap.of.lunay.tree β-light.you,SG it Use the sap of the lunay tree for a light.

#### (b) Noun phrase

Dek bong dekem du.
pestle big H-pound.you,SG it

Use a big pestle to pound it.

Sotu filak bli May mambang. one peso &-buy May bread

9 ...1

May bought bread with one peso.



Snayà Yê -n-tubular.skirt mother Use Mother's tubular skirt for carrying the child.

ebenem du yem ngà. Ø-carry.in.sling.you,SG it that child

# 8.5.3 Participants that are optional

There are only two participants that are optional in an IFS: location and time.

- (1) Location (see sec. 10)
- (2) Time (see sec. 11)

# 8.5.4 Display of an instrument focus sentence

The display of an IFS (Figure 7) summarizes the relative positions of the participants and their functions. The focused instrument is the obligatory participant. It must occur either following the object or preceding the verb. Actor and object are the nonfocused obligatory participants.

			Verb A	Mixation Ø			
	-/+ Instrument (Contrast)	V e	+ Actor	+ Object	+ Instrument	+/- Object	+/- Location, Time
Noun	Ø	r	Ø	ke	Ø	Ø	bè/Ø
Pronoun	_	b	-u	dou		-	

Figure 7. Instrument focus sentence

Ø = unmarked +/- = optional — = does not occur -/★ = if not in instrument position + = obligatory following object

# 8.6 Summary of the focus system

The following contrastive charts show the distinctive features of each of the five types of focused sentences in Tboli.

### 8.6.1 Display of the distinctives of each focus type

Figure 8 summarizes all the possible participants in each of the five types of focus and the fixed order in which they occur in a sentence. Bold type indicates a focused participant.



Focused Participant	Contrast	Verb	Actor, Experiencer	Goal	Object	Instrument	Location, Time	Emphasis
Experiencer	x	ne- Ø me-	x	x		_	x	х
Actor	x	me-	x	х	x	_	х	х
Goal	х	ne-	х	х	х	_	х	_
Object	х	ne- Ø	x	х	x	_	х	х
Instrument	x	Ø	X· ·		х	х	x	_

Figure 8. Participants and their order

$$x = occurs$$
 — = never occurs

### 8.6.2 Display of pronouns as participants

The four pronoun sets in Tboli are divided into focused and nonfocused sets. Figure 9 summarizes which pronoun sets are used for the various participants in the five types of focus. Bold type indicates the pronoun used as a focused participant.

Focused Participants	Contrast	Verb	Actor	Goal	Object	Instrument	Location, Time	Emphasis
Experiencer	ou	ne- Ø me-	-е	bélê + -u	_		<b>x</b>	dou
Actor	ои	те-	-е	dou bélê + -u	dou	_	х	dou
Goal	ou	ne-	-u	ou	_	_	х	_
Object	ou	ne- Ø	-u	dou bélê + -u	ou	_	х	dou
Instrument	x	Ø	-4		dou	х	х	

Figure 9. Pronouns as participants

### 8.6.3 Nouns as participants

When a noun or noun phrase occurs as a participant, it is word order that determines its role. The only participant marked by an overt particle is a personal name functioning as a nonfocused goal or object, which is marked by the nonfocus particle ke. In Figure 9 this particle plus a personal noun can occur wherever the nonfocused dou set of pronouns occurs. By substituting a pronoun for either a noun or a noun phrase, it can be determined which participant is in focus in any sentence.



#### 9. Affixes

Thou has very few affixes compared to most Philippine languages. They are me-, ne-, he-, se-, ge-, ke-, e-, te-, and de-. (For a review of the spelling of these affixes, see sec. 1.2.) These affixes may be divided into three classes, those that are derivational, those that are inflectional and those that function as both derivational and inflectional.

#### 9.1 Derivational affixes

A derivational affix forms a new word with a new grammatical function when the affix is added to an already existing root word. This is seen when the English suffix 'ness' is added to the word 'happy', which is an adjective. The result is a new word 'happiness', which is a noun. So an adjective has become a noun by the addition of an affix.

There are only two affixes in Tboli that are strictly derivational: ke- and te-.

### 9.1.1 The ke- prefix

The ke- prefix may be added to a great many nouns, verbs or adjectives to form an action oriented noun. The new word formed by adding the prefix functions as a noun in a sentence, but there is a strong element of action in its actual meaning, making it similar to a verb:

(1) Nouns

	yehen	'spouse'	<b>k</b> yehen	'marrying'
	kulón	'rain'	kkulón	'raining'
(2)	Verbs	·		
	mógów	'to go'	kógów	'going'
	mowil	'to live'	<b>kl</b> owil	'life'
(3)	Adjectives			
	kinî	'hot'	<i>kk</i> inì	'hotness'
	mayuk	'far'	<b>kl</b> ayuk	'farness'

These derived nouns differ from a regular noun in that when it is used in a sentence it always occurs with a possessive pronoun (see sec. 2.2):

Tngónem ne kô yem deng kyehenu? Do you know about my being married? know.you,SG now QU that PT k-spouse.my

Tey glayam kun klowil.

His life has much suffering.

INT g-suffer his k-live

Tey ksidek nawahen tu. He feels very badly about that.

### 9.1.2 The te-prefix

A te- prefix is added to the adjective listed below to make a verb. (This is the only example of this to date.)

gel 'hard' tgel 'to strengthen'

Tgelu tugedu mneged. I was strengthened going uphill by my t-strong.I walking.stick.my m-go.uphill walking stick.



#### 9.2 Inflectional affixes

An inflectional affix does not form a new word with a new grammatical function as does the derivational affix. With an inflectional affix on a verb, the verb stays a verb, but an additional element of meaning is added. For example, the English suffix 'ed' when added to the verb 'plant' changes it to 'planted'. The meaning of the verb stays the same, but the element of past tense has been added to it.

## , 9.2.1 Inflectional affixes with location

There are five inflectional affixes in Tboli which have to do with location: seN-, de-, te-, ke- and e-.

### (1) The seN- prefix

The seN- prefix adds the meaning of "being in the area adjacent to" a specified location, or "being compared with" a specific thing. It occurs with the following words describing a location:

-lem	'down/below'	<b>sen</b> lem
ta	'up/above'	<b>sen</b> ta
laan	'under'	snaan
leged	'higher'	<b>sene</b> ged
bwak	'lower'	sembwak
subô	'upstream'	snubô
mool	'downstream'	snool
tu	'there'	<b>sen</b> tu
dini	'here'	sendini

Ne le na sbung yó kem tau
then they first gather.together that PL person
mulu senta ke sen!em ke
m-attend.wedding sen-above or sen-below or
seneged duhen sembwak yem gunù.
sen-higher or.it sem-lower that house

All the people going to the wedding first gather together in the area above the house or below it or higher than it or lower than it.

Tey klayuken sentu Datal Teblow.

INT k-far.its sen-there Datal Teblow

Its a long distance beyond (the place called) Datal Teblow.

Nù snaanu kbongen yem libun tu. Ø-to.be sn-under.I k-big.her that girl there That girl is smaller than I am.

#### (2) The de-, te- and ke- prefixes

The de-, te- and ke- prefixes only occur with the four location words that are used in relation to a higher or a lower level. De- adds the meaning of a distance relatively nearby, te- indicates one that is far distant, and ke- indicates a distance about halfway in between. Ke- is used only with ta 'up/above':

-lem	'down/below'	leged	'higher level'
ta	'up/above'	bwak	'lower level'
dlem	'nearby below'	tlem	'far below'
<b>d</b> ta	'nearby up'	tta	'far up'
dleged	'nearby higher level'	Ueged	'distant higher level'
debwak	'nearby lower level'	<b>se</b> bwak	'distant lower level'



Deng sut se Yê Tahà debwak.
PT Ø-arrive EMPH Mother Tall de-lower

And Tall Mother arrived in the lower area nearby.

Snólók me ditu, mon me, Mayuk
-n-ask we,EX there said we,EX far

We asked there, we said, Is it far to Maitum? And they said, It's in the far distant lower area.

Maitum? Mon le, Tebwak.

Maitum said they te-lower

Tódô mlóy gu ditu kta lem immediate-Ø m-run from there k-up in

Immediately he ran (down) from there midway up in the mountain.

bulul. mountain

## (3) The e- prefix

The e- prefix adds the meaning of "direction or motion toward" a specified location. It may be prefixed to: (1) the location marker  $b\dot{e}$  and the preposition  $b\dot{e}l\dot{e}$ , (2) location words (see sec. 10.2) and (3) location substitutes (see sec. 5.3). The pronoun du may also substitute for a specific place:

Bude mógów ebè Afus. again.I m-go DIR,LOC Afus

Again I went to Afus (name of a place).

Tey legen là smulate ebéléem.

INT long.time NEG -m-write.I DIR.PREP,you,sG

I haven't written to you for a very long time.

Là hyu kógówen etalak yem ngà ówóng. NEG good k-go.its DIR,middle that little boat It is not good for that little boat to go out into the middle (of the lake).

Bude mulék efatu bè Hitas. again.I m-return DIR, other. side LOC Hitas

I'm returning again to the other side to Hitas.

Hgéhéli kut edini. h-hurry.you,SG us,DU(polite) DIR,here Please hurry to us here.

Ken me edyó he kedeng. Ø-eat we,EX DIR, there yet later We'll eat later (upon arriving) there.

Tódô mógów edu yem kifu. immediate-Ø m-go DIR,it that night Immediately he went to it that night.

When the e- prefix is used in combination with the three prefixes de-, te- and ke- indicating distance, the vowel of these prefixes is dropped. The combination of the two prefixes becomes ed-, et- and ek-:

Ne muléke edta lem bulul. and m-return. I DIR, nearby. up in mountain I'm returning up into the mountains nearby.

Mulèke etlem dou. m-return.I DIR,far.below as.for.me I'm returning to (the area) far below as for me.

yó kem dumuhem

eddoli

'your other close relatives'

that PL companion.your DIR, mearby.other

Bude mulék ekta.
again.I m-return DIR,up

Again I returned midway up (into the

mountains).

The e- prefix occurs frequently on a verb that is used in combination with gunu 'place':

Gunum esolu de?

Where are you going?

place.you DIR,face QU

Lowig gunù le

kul.

It's to the field house where they

field.house place they DIR,m-deliver them

deliver them.

If the place is identified by name, the e- prefix occurs on the name:

Bud mulék

Mà

eDatal

emeted

Teblów.

Again Father returned to Datal Teblów.

again m-return Father DIR, Datal Teblów

#### 9.2.2 Inflectional affix with numbers

A ge-prefix may be added to the cardinal numbers (i.e., one, two, three, etc.) to change them to ordinals (i.e., first, second, third, etc.). The only exception is som 'one', whose ordinal is the word tanay 'first'. The ordinals always occur with a possessive pronoun:

limu	'five'
nem	'six'
syóm	'nine'
sfolò	'ten'

glimu 'fifth'
gnem 'sixth'
essvim 'ninth

gesyóm 'ninth'
gesfolò 'tenth'

Deng bud gewu le dulék muta.

PT again g-two they repeat harvest

It was the second time they harvested.

Mnóng bè bulón getluhen dun gfaten. m-shine-Ø LOC month ge-three.its or g-four.its It shines during the third or fourth month.

9.3 Affixes functioning as both derivational and inflectional

There are five affixes that are used with both verbs and nouns: me-, ne-, he-, se- and ge-. When used with verbs, they are inflectional, adding a new element of meaning to the verb. When used with nouns or adjectives, they are derivational, changing the grammatical function of the root word.

#### 9.3.1 The me- affix

A me- prefix may be added to certain nouns and verbs to form an adjective:

btes	'a measure'	<b>me</b> btes	'expensive'
b <b>tik</b>	'to get up'	<b>me</b> btik	'quick'
duk	'laziness'	mduk	'lazy'
kteng	'to pull'	<b>me</b> kteng	'direct'
nóng	'ray of light'	mnóng	'shiny'



The me- prefix may be added to an adjective to form another adjective with similar meaning:

lehen

'thin'

le**m**ehen

'slender'

tahà

'tall'

tmahà

'oblong'

The me- affix signals that the role of the focused participant in the sentence is either actor or experiencer. The affix is used with both verbs and nouns. When used with a noun, the noun becomes a verb.

### (1) With verbs

bli eted kodu 'buy' 'bring' 'pity'

bemli meted

'to buy' 'to deliver'

kmodu

'to pity'

Bemlihe msó bè Bongu. I bought hulled rice at Bongu.

-em-buy.I hulled.rice LOC Bongu

Wen

fen meted

ken bélê le.

there.is EMPH ID m-bring food PREP them

There are those who bring food to

### (2) With nouns

benwu ken klo

tonok

'country'

'food'

'weeding tool' 'ground'

menwu

tmonok

'to live in a country'

'to eat' mken kemlo

'to weed' 'to walk'

Hlósi

menwu dini ne.

You continue to live here now.

Ø-continue.you,sG m-live here now

Sendaw ie kemlo. They weeded all day.

one.day they -em-weeding.tool

Tehe

tódô tmonok.

previous we, Ex just -m-ground

Previously we just walked.

#### 9.3.2 The ne- affix

The ne- affix signals that the role of the focused participant in the sentence is either experiencer, object or goal. It is used with both verbs and nouns. When used with a noun, the noun becomes a verb.

#### (1) Experiencer focus

halì inget 'a wound' 'perspiration' h**n**alì ninget 'to be wounded' 'to perspire'

lekef

'a cold'

lenekef

'to have a cold'

Lenekef kem ngà. -en-have.cold they PL child The children have colds.

Tey ninget kwangu lanu kemlo. INT n-perspire back.my path.I -em-weeding.tool

My back is really perspiring because I've been weeding.

(2) Object focus (The root words listed may be either a noun or a verb.)

'to wait for (someone/something)' angat 'wait' nangat 'to buy (something)' bli benli 'buy' kodu 'pity' knodu 'to pity (someone/something)' taha 'call' **tna**ba 'to call (someone)'

Tnabahen Yê.

She called Mother.

n-call.she Mother

Nangat me n-wait.for we,EX them We are waiting for them.

(3) Goal focus

blay 'give' benlay 'to give to (someone)' 'to deliver to (someone)' eted 'bring' neted

Benlay le mi klatas. -en-give they us,EX paper

They gave us paper.

Neteden o kuda ekimel. n-deliver.he me horse DIR,early.afternoon He delivered the horse to me early yesterday afternoon.

### 9.3.3 The he- prefix

The he- prefix has three functions: (1) when it occurs with an adjective, the adjective is changed to a verb; (2) when it occurs with a verb, it signals that the action of the verb is being initiated by one person, but being performed by another, i.e., it becomes a causative verb, someone is causing another person to do something; (3) when it occurs with a noun, the noun becomes a causative verb or a reflexive verb.

(1) With adjectives to form a verb

bong hbong 'to make big/plenty' 'big' kinì 'hot' hkinî 'to heat (something)' hloni 'to come near' moni 'near' tólóng 'different' htólóng 'to separate'

Deng hkiniu ken koni. h-hot.I food just.now I just finished heating the rice/food.

Béi hloni bè skê kudà. do.not.you,SG h-near LOC rear.end horse Don't go near the rear end of a horse.



(2) With verbs to form a causative verb

minum 'to drink' hinum 'to cause (someone) to give a drink to

(someone/something)'

'to take care of' segyok

hesegyok

'to cause (someone) to take care of

(someone/something)'

drink.,

Gel hinumem do onuk.

Always give my chickens something to

always h-give.drink.you,SG my chicken

Hesegyoku ke Kasi yem bew.

I had Kasi take care of the carabao.

he-care.for.I NF Kasi that carabao

(3) With nouns to form a causative verb

dek klo

'pestle'

'weeding tool'

hdek

'to cause (someone) to pound rice'

heklo 'to cause (someone) to weed'

halay heklo Gel wen

le snéen. There is also always some rice (field)

they have others weed. always there is rice he-weeding tool they also

halay

nwahu ne hdeku

I got one ganta of unhulled rice and had Grandmother pound it (for me).

s-one.ganta unhulled.rice n-get.I and h-pestle.I

ke Bé.

NF Grandmother

There is a limited group of nouns that may function as a reflexive when prefixe with he-, i.e., the person initiating the action has it done to himself. This takes the focused -e set of prevenus for the initiator:

Hguntinge ke Yadan kedeng.

I'll have Yadan cut my hair later on.

h-scissors.I NF Yadan later

Hetbeke

béléem

bè nim

I'll have you give me an injection for

this sickness of mine. he-sharp.pointed.object.I PREP,you,SG LOC this

desu

ni.

sickness.my this

Géhéli

hbulung dé.

Hurry up and have yourself treated

with medicine.

Notice the difference in meaning when the nonfocused -u set of pronouns is used:

Hguntingu ke Yadan ngà ni. h-scissors. I NF Yadan child this

hurry.you,sG h-medicine EMPH

I will have Yadan give this child a hair-

cut.

ke Yê Udì

Heibeku ngau. he-sharp.pointed.object.I NF Mother Little child.my I will have Little Mother give my child

an injection.



Géhél hbulungem ne yehenem. quick h-medicine.you,sG now spouse.you

Quickly have your spouse treated now with medicine.

### 9.3.4 The se-prefix

The se-prefix has two functions: (1) it may signal a reciprocal action, i.e., both parties perform the action or benefit from it; or, (2) it may add the additional meaning of 'one/once' to certain nouns.

#### 9.3.4.1 To signal reciprocal action

#### (1) With verbs

kό	'to remove'	skó	'to divorce'
tagak	'to leave behind'	stagak	'to leave one another'
tngón	'to know'	setngón	'to know each other'
tóbóng	'to help'	stóbóng	'to help each other'
tulón	'to tell'	stulón ¯	'to talk to each other'

Stóbóng tekuy. s-help we,iN Let's all help each other.

Ominu stulón yem yehenu. then.I s-tell that spouse.my Then I discussed it with my wife.

#### (2) With adjectives

mayuk	'far'	slayuk	'far from each other'
moni	'near'	sloni	'near each other'
sotu	'one'	ssotu	'to be in agreement'
tólóng	'different'	stólóng	'to be different from each other'

Tehe le sloni Mélê Botu Mtutung. pro rious they s-near Mélê Botu Mtutung Previously (the mountains) Mélê Botu and Mtutung were near each other.

Tey stólóng kul kmò.

INT s-different their custom

Their custom is very different (from ours).

#### (3) With nouns

lai	'in-law'	slai	'to be in-laws with each other'
lingun	'traditional song'	slingun	'to sing a traditional song to each other'
syat	'a turn off'	sesyat	'crossroads'
yehe <b>n</b>	'spouse'	syehen	'to be married'

Tey le móyô slai kem Tboli. INT they m-like s-in.law PL Tboli Tboli really like to become in-laws with each other.

Sulóyen buteng laen tungó tau s-afternoon night NEG,it Ø-sleep person slingun.

The persons who sing the traditional songs to each other don't sleep all night.

3-traditional.song



# 9.3.4.2 To add the additional meaning of 'one/once' to certain nouns

The s- may be a shortened form of sotu 'one':

'piece'	sbotù	'one piece'
'cob/stalk'	sgoyu	'one cob/one stalk'
'year'	sfalay	'one year'
, 'wrapper'	sfunges	'one wrapper'
'sun/day'	sendaw .	'one day'
'repeat'	sulék	'once'
	'cob/stalk' 'year' 'wrapper' 'sun/day'	'cob/stalk' sgoyu 'year' sfalay 'wrapper' sfunges 'sun/day' sendaw

Mukas sfalayen ne kegen le là mayad do. It is more than one year now the more, than s-year, it now k-long, time they NEG m-pay me length of time they have not paid me.

Yake new bud ton lu sulék.
good.if first. I again Ø-see them s-return

Good if I can first see them once more.

## 9.3.5 The ge- prefix

The ge- prefix signals either an ability/capacity to do something or an unintentional action, depending upon the context. It occurs with nouns or verbs.

### (1) With nouns

fun	'owner'	gfun	'able to own'
salà	'sin/mistake'	gsalà	'accidentally sin/make a mistake' 'accidentally bump oneself'
tutuk	'nail'	gtutuk	

Ne gtutuk kulu Nib. and g-nail head Nib

And Nib accidentally bumped his head.

Snólóken bélê me yem lefò ke gfunen.
-n-ask.he PREP us,EX that coconut if g-owner.he

He asked us if he was to be the owner of the coconuts.

# (2) With verbs

mon	'say'	gmon	'accidentally say'
mungol	'hear'	gungol	'able to hear (something)'
tungô	'sleep'	<b>g</b> tungô	'able to sleep'

Gungolu udél sdô fatu lem law. g-hear.I word pig across in cane I was able to hear the squeal of a pig in the cane across (the river).

Song giungée bud mdóm sotu kumù. not.until g-sleep.I again m-borrow one blanket I wasn't able to sleep until I again borrowed a blanket.

Ge- also occurs in combination with the verbal affix me- on certain vegos to form a stative verb. In this combination of me- + ge-, the vowel of the ge- prefix is dropped, and the resultant prefix is meg-:



ial <b>a</b>	'to disturb'	<b>meg</b> lala	'to be disturbed'
ıa <b>fa</b> k	'to punish'	megtafak	'to be punished'
tref	'to winnow'	<b>meg</b> teef	'to be winnowed'
tolok	'to teach'	megtolok	'to be trained'

Kô meglala ye. perhaps meg-disturb you,PL Perhaps you will be disturbed.

#### 10. Location

A participant functioning as location occurs with all five focus types. Basically location is the place where the action happens. But in Tboli it can also be the person or thing toward which the action is directed. It is indicated by certain location markers, location words and by the *dini* set of demonstratives as location substitutes.

Usually location occurs at the end of the sentence. But it may occur before the verb when it is necessary to contrast it with some other location for clarification.

#### 10.1 Location marker bè

There is a location marker  $b\dot{e}$  which is used to indicate both the place where the action happens or the person or thing to which the action is directed. It is also used to introduce an independent clause.

## 10.1.1 Location as the place where the action happens

Location may be either a person or a place. A demonstrative can be used as a location substitute.

(1) Person as location

Kól le bè Mrs. Bargas. They arrived at (the place of) Mrs. Bar-Ø-arrive they LOC Mrs. Bargas gas.

Bude muta haya bè le Afò.

I'm going to harvest again tomorrow at again. I m-harvest tomorrow LOC PL Afò

(the field of) Afò and his family.

(2) Place as location

Kól le bè Dadiangas. They arrived at Dadiangas.

Mógów le bè fedyan. They went to the market.

Mius le bè yem fsinà. They passed by that (certain) office.

m-pass.by they LOC that office

Tungée bélê le bè Asus.

I slept with them at Asus.

Tungóe bélê le **bè Afus**. I slep Ø-sleep.I PREP they **LOC Afus** 

(3) Demonstrative as location substitute

Ø-arrive they LOC Dadiangas

m-go they LOC market

Ni sóne bè ni. This (place) here is as far as I'm going. this end. I LOC this



Nù bè tu kem dumuhen.

Ø-to.be LOC there PL companion.his

His companions live there (far).

Deng le mangay msó bè yó.

PT they m-fetch hulled.rice LOC there

They have already fetched some hulled rice from there.

#### 10.1.2 Location as that toward which the action is directed

When the location is that toward which the action is directed, it may be a person, a thing or a derived noun. In most cases it is a person. When it functions in this way, it may occur in the goal position before the object or in the location position at the end of the sentence.

## (1) Person

Denge hemtahu bè Dwata se dou.
PT,I hem-true LOC God EMPH me

As for me, I have believed in God.

Ne sidek knawahen bè kem tuónen. and bad k-breath.his LOC PL in.law.his And his attitude is bad toward his inlaws.

Tey bong dou snolu bè Dwata.

INT big. mine -n-face LOC God

I have a very big responsibility to God.

Myak bè yem tau mauy. m-embarrass-Ø LOC that person m-visit She's embarrassed to that person who is visiting.

Ndómu bè Yê Bong wolu filak. n-borrow.I LOC Mother Big eight peso I borrowed eight pesos from Big Mother.

Olow tô mdóm lematu bè le only.I would.like m-borrow -em-hundred LOC PL

I only would like to borrow a hundred (pesos) from New Mother and her companions.

Yê Lomi. Mother New

Gel snoloku bè Ting ke móyô. always -n-ask.I LOC Ting if m-like/want-Ø I always ask Ting if he wants to.

#### (2) Thing

Yó gunuhu bemlay du bè hitu filak. that place.I -em-give him LOC seven peso That's the reason I gave it to him for seven pesos.

Doli ngalihu bè filak nogot Ting. fifty.cents hold.back.I LOC money n-hold Ting

I kept back fifty cents from the money that Ting was responsible for.

Okóm hnihu bè limu latu filakbut h-ask.I LOC five hundred peso But I asked/bargained for five hundred pesos.

Malù kulang bè tgoyu. somewhat-Ø Ø-lack LOC round.wood It's lacking somewhat in round wood (poles).



(3) A derived noun

Ali gedlug khedemem bè kmoem

INT more.than.enough k-think.you,SG LOC k-do.your

You are thinking too much about your work.

*nmò.* n-do

Wen tey tulônu kôm bè kum kmô dini. there.is INT Ø-tell.I you,SG LOC us,Ex k-do here

I have something important to tell you about our doings here.

10.1.3 Location marker used to introduce a dependent clause

The location marker may be used to introduce a dependent clause:

Sonen efet bè bud keston tekuy.
only.it until LOC again ke-s-see we,IN

This is all until (the time) when we all see each other again.

Bè kmò kbenwu kem Tboli, là holen mdengen. LOC k-do k-country PL Tboli NEG INT, it settle The way the Tboli live, it is not very settled.

Là buden hyu knagien bè yem kdes matahen. NEG again.he good k-study.his LOC that k-pain 2ye.his He is not able to study well because of the painfulness of his eyes.

10.2 Location words

There is a category of words that designate location. These are used without the location marker.

10.2.1 Location words in relation to higher and lower levels

There are four location words that are used in relation to a higher or a lower level. These occur with the two prefixes indicating distance (de-'nearby' and te-'distant'):

bwak 'a lower area' -lem 'down/below' leged 'a higher area' ta 'up/above'

Deng le kól ta.
PT they Ø-arrive up

They have already arrived up (in the mountains).

Tbahu te bè Bsayà bwak. Ø-work we,DU LOC Visayan lower.area Let's you and I work for the Visayan down below.

Ne gu leged yem sotu ówóng bong. and from higher.area that one boat big And that one large boat came from the higher area.

(1) With de- and te-

Deng mulék gu diw tleged.
PTØ m-return from there distant.higher.area

He has already returned from the distant higher area there.

Deny dnaduhu ne yem fi dlem.
PT -n-plow.I now that DIR nearby.lower.area

I have now already plowed that nearby area just below.



Mosol etu tlem él.
m-downhill-Ø DIR, there distant. below river

He went down (from the mountain) there to the river far below.

Ne sut se Yê Tahà debwak. and Ø-arrive INT Mother Tall nearby.lower.area And Tall Mother arrived in the lower area nearby.

Tódô ton me Mà Bong mosol right.then Ø-see we,EX Father Big m-go.downhill Right then we saw Big Father coming downhill from the higher area nearby.

gu **dta**.

from nearby.up

Ne kôle ua, nù diu se Ting. And (when) I arrived in the area far and Ø-arrive. I far.higher.area Ø-20.be there also Ting up, Ting was there also.

The location word ta 'up/above' often occurs with the ke-prefix which indicates the distance about halfway between the top of a mountain and the bottom:

Nù le ditu kta. Ø-to.be they there halfway.up They live there halfway up (the mountain).

Tódô mlóy gu kta te bulul. immediate-Ø m-run from halfway.up PREP mountain He immediately ran from halfway up the mountain.

#### 10.2.2 Other location words

There are other location words that do not occur with the above prefixes:

fatu 'the other side of' mool 'downstream' klohok 'beside' subô 'upstream' laan 'under/beneath' talak 'the middle of' lem 'in/inside'

Nù lemen. Ø-to.be inside.it It's inside.

Deng le kól lem él. PT they Ø-arrive in river They have already arrived in/at the river.

Béem gel fét laan lefò yem kudà. NEG,you,SG always Ø-tie under coconut.palm that horse

Don't always tie the horse under the coconut palm.

Myón bè but hehek klohok ofi. m-sit-Ø LOC base post near fire He was sitting at the base of the post near the fire.

Gungolu udél sdô fatu lem law. & hear.I word pig other.side.of in cane I heard the squeal of a pig on the other side of (the river) in the cane.

Hilu dulék me smitô du, hilu how.many times we,EX -m-go.upstream it how.many How many times did we go upstream, how many times did we go downstream, it had no end.

dulék me mool du, laen dù sónen. times we,EX m-go.downstream it NEG,it it end.it

We are going upstream later on.

Mógów me subô kedeng. m-go we,EX upstream by.and.by

Lem frequently occurs as part of a place name:

Lem Snólón Lem Sembong Lem Lóyón 'in (the area of) Snólón River'
'in (the area of) Sembong Gully'
'in (the area of) Lóyón River'

#### 10.3 The dini set of demonstratives as location substitutes

For a review of the dini set of demonstratives, see section 5.3:

Dwata semgyok kuy dyó.

May God take care of you all there.

God -em-care.for you,PL there

Hlósi menwu dini ne. Ø-continue.you,SG m-inhabit here now You continue to live here now.

o community out, so in immuon mero ne

Tek fat buteng me ditu.
only four nights we,EX there

We were only there four nights.

A demonstrative from the dini set often occurs with a location indicated by a bè phrase and/or with a location word:

Deng kınulón dini bè Begabag.

It has rained here at Bagabag.

PT-Ø -m-rain here LOC Eagabag

Gotu le nù ditu tlem bè all they Ø-to.be there distant.below LOC

They all live there far below at the Americans.

Mlikan Bukay.
American White

Deng mulék gu ditu tleged.

PT-Ø m-return from there distant.Ligher.area

He has already returned from there far up (in the mountains).

# 10.4 The e- prefix indicating motion toward a location

The prefix e- indicating direction or motion towards the designated place can occur with the location marker, location words and location substitutes.

(1) With location markers

Bude mulék ebè Sinolon ni. again.I m-return DIR,LOC Sinolon now

I'm going to return again to Sinolon now.



(2) With location words

Ke gele mógów ekta, là gel when always.I m-go DIR,halfway.up NEG always When I always go halfway up into (the mountains), I don't always see Mother.

tonu ke Yê. Ø-see.I NF Mother

Bude mulék efatu bè Hitas. again.I m-return DIR, other. side LOC Hitas I'm returning again to the other side to

Hitas.

(3) With location substitutes

Hgéhéli kut edini.

Please hurry and come here.

h-hurry.you,sG we,DU(polite) DIR,here

Ken me edyó he kedeng. Ø-eat we,EX DIR, there yet later We'll eat later (upon arriving) there.

#### 11. Time

A participant functioning as time occurs with all five focus types. Basically time indicates when the activity described by the verb takes place, but it may also indicate a certain measure of time. Although it is always a nonfocused participant, it frequently occurs before the verb when it is necessary to contrast it with some other time for clarification.

#### 11.1 Time words

The following is a list of the most commonly used time words:

buteng 'twenty-four hour period'
fedyan 'market/week'
gtungó 'noon'
halay 'rice/year'
hlafus 'morning'
kdaw 'sun/day'
kemdaw 'noon'

kifu 'night'
kimel 'early afternoon'
kuloy 'late afternoon'

As an e- prefix is used with location words to indicate direction towards, so there is an e- prefix used with certain time words, but it points backwards to the immediate past:

ebuteng 'DIR, twenty-four hour period'

ekimel 'DIR,early afternoon (yesterday afternoon early)'
ekuloy 'DIR,late afternoon (yesterday afternoon late)'

Some of the time words in the above list occur with ni 'this':

fedyan ni 'this week' halay ni 'this year'

kemdaw ni 'this day (today)' kimel ni 'this afternoon'



Numbers may occur with ni to indicate a future time:

fat **ni** 

'four (days) from now'

lewu ni

'two (days) from now'

The modifiers gna 'before/ahead' and huli 'behind/after' are used with the following time words:

fedyan gna

'last week/market day'

fedyan hu**li** 

'next week/market day'

halay gna

'last year'

halay huli

'next year'

Compounds are also used to express time:

hlafus

ekimel

buteng

'yesterday morning'

morning

LNR,early.afternoon ekimel

'yesterday noon'

kdaw sun/day

DIR, early. afterooon

suloven

Disquarry.urcoro

'all night'

s-late.afternoon.it

24.hour.period

#### 11.2 How time is indicated

Time may be indicated by: (1) a time word occurring with  $b\dot{e}$ ; (2) a time word indicating a measure of time; (3) a ni set demonstrative with or without a time word; (4) by an adverb from the eginu class (see sec. 3.2.2(1)) with or without a time word.

#### 11.2.1 A time word with bè

Lemwót tekuy bè udas fat hlafus.
-em-leave we,IN LOC hour four morning

We'll all leave at four o'clock in the morning.

Bude mnagi bè halay huli.
again....-study LOC year after

I'll study again next year.

Sotu kifu bè Akad tungóe bè Afus. one night LOC Sunday Ø-sleep.I LOC Afus

One Sunday night I slept at Afus.

Dô bè Julay kgefeten yem silà Tboli. maybe LOC July k-reach.its that corn Tboli

Maybe in July Tboli corn will be ready to eat.

#### 11.2.2 A measure of time indicated

Deng tlu butengen là mken.

PT three night.she NEG m-food

It's already three nights she hasn't eaten.

Deng mukas sfolò halayen ne.
PT more.than ten year.it now

It has already been more than ten years now.

Sfolò fat butengen nù ta. s-ten four night.he Ø-to.be up It was fourteen nights he stayed up (in the house).

Dô bulón huli kgefet bkadu. maybe month after k-reach avocado Maybe next month the avocados will be ripe.

11.2.3 A ni set demonstrative with or without a time word

Lelu ni kem mfas.

still.I this PL m-clear.a.field

I'm still at this time clearing a field.

Sónmou hemdem kuy bulón ni. always.I -em-think you,PL month this

I'm always thinking of you all this month.

Són ni kifu ni là keseken du. just this night this NEG k-wear.she it It's just tonight she's not wearing it.

The demonstrative ni often occurs with the ke- prefix, forming the word kni a previous/past time:

Likoe kudà hanà kegenu udì kni. Ø-afraid.I horse still k-long.time.my little k-this I was afraid of horses in the past when I was still a child.

Lumun yem tehe knawa me ebêlêem like that former k-breath ours,EX DIR,PREP,you,SG It's like our former attitude toward you in the past.

*kni*. k-this

This kni form also occurs with the prefix e- which indicates a direction towards a past time:

tche yu ekni
previous that DIR,k-this

'a long, long time past'

tche benwu gnan ekni
previous country before.it DIR,k-this

'in a previous country from before in times past'

tehe knuu bè Kiambà ekni previous k-to.be LOC Kiamba DIR,k-this 'when I previously lived in Kiamba in times past'

Yake yem gna tehe kukét me good.if that before previous k-pick.com our,EX

Good (if it were like) that previous time we picked corn in times past.

ekni. DIR,k-this

11.2.4 An eginu set adverb with or without a time word

Fene mò ken kedeng.

ID m-do food later

I'm the one to cook rice later on.

Deng bud lemwót koni.
PTØ again -em-leave just.now

She just now left again.

Gu me bè Demfilan eginu. Ø-from we,EX LOC Demfilan DIR,early We came from Demfilan earlier (today).



Bude mógów bè Afus kemdaw ni kedeng. again.l m-go LOC Afus -em-day this later

I'll go again to Afus later today.

Ni kemdaw ni eginu, kemlo bè this -em-day this DIR, early -em-weed we, EX LOC

Earlier today we weeded in the riccfield.

tniba.

-n-ricefield

### 12. Negatives

### 12.1 Types of negatives

There are three negatives in Tboli: là, bê and sundu/sindu.

### 12.1.1 The negative là

Là negates an action (a verb) or a descriptive (an adjective). It always precedes that which it negates, and it never attracts the pronoun actor to itself.

(1) With a verb

Là munge.

I'm not going along.

NEG m-go.along.I

Là benlay le

They didn't give it to me.

NEG -en-give they me

Là tulónen dи. He/She didn't tell it.

NEG Ø-tell.he/she it

Là tnawe.

I'm not cold.

NEG Ø-cold.I

(2) With an adjective

Là bongen.

NEG big.it

It's not big.

Là bud buden

NEG again again.he it

He will not do it again.

Là bong guta me.

NEG big g-get we,EX

We didn't get much.

Deng legen là bud keston le. long.time NEG again ke-s-see their It has been a long time their not seeing each other.

In the -e set of actor or experiencer focus pronouns (see sec. 4.1.1), the third person 'he/she/it' is indicated by the absence of a word to signify it, i.e., a zero pronoun. When là negates a verb using this zero pronoun, it borrows the equivalent pronoun -en from the nonfocused -u set to fill the seemingly empty space:



Mung.

He/she is going along.

m-go.along-#

Là mungen.

He/she is not going along.

NEG m-go.along.he/she

Tnaw.

He/she/it is cold.

Ø-cold-Ø

Là tnawen.

He/she/it is not cold.

NEG Ø-cold.he/she/it

## 12.1.2 The negative bê

The negative command bê is used with verbs only, negating an action. It always attracts the pronoun actor from its regular position following the verb to itself, whether the pronoun is from the focused actor -e set or from the nonfocused actor -u set:

Bée dou. As for me, I don't want to.

do.not.l as.for.me

Béi

hebtang.

Don't you fall.

do.not.you,SG he-fall

tafa

Béem

hentaw lu. Don't you be amazed at them.

do.not.you,sg -en-amaze them

Béen

nawa le

They should not be anxious about me.

do.not.it Ø-anxious breath they me

#### 12.1.3 The negative sundu/sindu

Sundu/sindu negates nouns or noun substitutes. So in an equational sentence, it negates the noun or noun substitute functioning as the topic of the equation. The pronoun du 'he/she/it' may occur after whatever is being negated:

Sundu adat

bè Tholi du yó.

That is not a Tboli custom.

custom LOC Tboli it that

Sundu kumù Tboli du ni.

This is not a Tboli blanket.

blanket Tboli it this

Sundu uu

not

gna tau.

You are not the first person (in the world).

you,SG first person

That is not what I'm thinking.

Sundu yó hendemu. that -en-think.I

I know that this is not God's desire.

Tngónu sundu ni kun kóyô Dwata. B-know.I NEG this his k-want/like God

Sundu do du yem toloku kul.

NEG mine it that Ø-teach.I them

It is not mine that (teaching) I teach them.

## 12.2 Negatives emphasized

Negatives  $l\hat{a}$  and  $b\hat{e}$  may be emphasized by three modifiers only:  $k\hat{o}$ , dog and abay.

## 12.2.1 Là emphasized by kô

 $K\hat{o}$  only modifies  $l\hat{a}$ , but it occurs in this combination frequently. It adds the meaning of being very definite or very certain about something. When the actor focus -e set of pronouns is used, the  $k\hat{o}$  always attracts the actor pronoun from the verb to itself. When the pronoun for 'he/she/it' is needed, the equivalent pronoun -en is borrowed from the nonfocused actor -u set. It, too, is attracted to  $k\hat{o}$ :

Là kóe móyô mung. NEG INT,I m-want m-go.along I definitely do not want to go along.

Ke là mebeli ken, là kói if NEG m-look.for.you,sG food NEG INT,you,sG

If you don't look for food, you will certainly not be able to eat.

gemken se. g-em-food EMPH

Là kóen deng kmulón he. NEG INT, it PT -m-rain yet It definitely has not rained yet.

Là kóen kóyów he. NEG INT, it adequate yet

It definitely is still inadequate.

#### 12.2.2 Là and bè emphasized by dog

The modifier dog modifies both  $l\hat{a}$  and  $b\hat{e}$ . In some contexts it has the meaning of not being able to do something. In other contexts it carries the meaning of not wanting to bother about doing something—a "never m." 4" attitude.

#### (1) With là

When dog modifies the negative  $l\dot{a}$  in a sentence requiring the nonfocused -u set of pronouns as actor, the pronoun actor always remains in the regular actor slot following the verb. It is never attracted to dog:

Là dog nwit le do.

NEG INT n-bring they me

They didn't bother to bring me along.

Là dog tngónu du mò kken me.
NEG INT H-know.I it PREP k-food our,EX

I did not know what we would cat.

Là dog tulónu du kul le Yê Bong. NEG INT \$6-tell.I it them PL Mother Big I didn't bother to tell it to them Big Mother and her companions.

But when dog modifies a negative used in a sentence requiring the focused -e set of pronouns as actor, the actor is always attracted to dog. And, as has been noted before, when 'he/she/it' from this set of pronouns is needed, the equivalent pronoun -en from the non-focused -u set is borrowed:



Là doge bud gulék. NEG INT,I again g-return I didn't bother to return again.

Là doge bud mò nmò. NEG INT,I again Ø-do n-do I didn't bother again to do (any) work.

Là dogen mudél, tódô neb.

NEG INT, be m-word just Ø-silent

He wouldn't speak, he was just silent.

Là dogen gefet kimel keklo

NEG INT, it g-reach early afternoon ke-weeding tool

Our weeding was over before early afternoon.

mę. our,EX

Là dogen hol bud hligal yem tau
NEG INT,he INT again Ø-happy that person

That person who was our companion was not very happy anymore.

dumu me. coripanion our,EX

In the above examples where the focused -e set of pronouns has been attracted to the modifier dog, another change takes place if time, location, certain conjunctions, etc. occurs at the beginning of the sentence. These sentence initial participants not only attract the actor pronoun from dog, but they change it from the focused -e set to the nonfocused -u set:

Wen se kdawu là dog mò nmò. there is EMPH day. I NEG INT do n-do There were days when I didn't bother to work.

Tey kegenen là dog mudél.

INT k-long.time.his NEG INT m-word

It was a very long time he wouldn't speak.

Ominu hlilil là dog kmumù. then.I Ø-lie.down NEG INT -m-blanket Then I lay down not bothering to use a blanket.

#### (2) With bê

As has already been noted,  $b\hat{e}$  may be used in sentences with either a focused or non-focused actor, and it always attracts the actor pronoun to itself:

Béem dog tenies ne.

NEG, you, SG INT -en-change now

Don't bother to change it now.

Béen dog mnagì abay se tafa NEG,he INT m-study because EMPH anxious Never mind (if) he studies because I'm very anxious about him.

nawahu du. breath.my him

Sometimes  $b\hat{e}$  is dropped and dog is used by itself:

Dog mnagì ne.

INT m-study-Ø now

Never mind (if) he studies now.

Dog tenles ne.

INT -en-change now

Never mind changing it now.

### 12.2.3 Bê emphasized by abay

The modifier abay only modifies the negative  $b\hat{e}$  'don't', which is used as a command, a request or a warning. Abay adds a strong note of authority or urgency to this negative. As has already been said,  $b\hat{e}$  always attracts the pronoun actor to itself, whether it is focused or a nonfocused actor:

Béi abay kmó!

Don't jump down!

do.not.you,sg int Ø-jump.down

Béi abay mógów hegtusak!

Don't just go wandering around!

do.not.you,sg INT m-go heg-wander.around

Béem abay hnifót o kóó?

Don't forget me, will you?

do.not.you,sg INT -n-forget me QU

Bê ye abay hennê o dé bè kmou do.not you,PL INT -en-ridicule me EMPH LOC k-do.my Don't ridicule me about my working.

nmò.

n-do

Bê ye abay knutó nawa yem ngà ye do.not you,PL INT -n-hate breath that child your,PL

Don't hate your oldest child.

*twogu*.

#### 13. Questions

Questions are formed either by using one of the question words (with or without the question particle de) or by adding the question particles ( $k\hat{o}$  or  $k\delta\hat{o}$ ) to an ordinary statement.

#### 13.1 Question words

There are nine different question words in Took, and they always occur at the beginning of the sentence. A sentence which uses one of these question words is called an interrogative sentence, and the word used in asking the question is called an interrogative pronoun.

(1) Tau du 'who/whose' (lit., 'person he/she/it')

Tau du se gel gna tungô? person he/she/it EMPH always first Ø-sleep Who is always the first one to go to sleep?

(2) Kilón 'when'

Kilón se kulékem du? when EMPH k-return.you,SG it When is it you are returning?



(3) Gunù/nù 'where' (lit., 'place')

A noun or pronoun always follows this question word. The glottal stop is dropped when a singular pronoun is attached directly to the word:

Gunù ye nù de? place you,PL Ø-to.be QU

Where are you living?

Gunuhen nù lan bè ni? place.it Ø-to.be path LOC here

Where is the path here?

Nù se kudà du? place EMPH horse it Where is the horse?

Gunum/gum esolu de? place.you,SG DIR,face QU Where are you going?

Gunù ye deng bud tmiba?
place you,PL FT again -m-ricefield

Where have you again made your ricefield?

Gunù le Fining nù se kul du? place they Fining Ø-to.be EMPH them it Where are Fining and the others living as for them?

(4) Tedu 'what'

Tedu des le kem ngà ni? what sickness their PL child this What is the sickness of these children?

(5) Boluy 'what' (lit., 'name')

Boluyen de? name.its QU What is happening?

Boluyem? name.your,SG What is your name?

(6) Mò kmò 'how'

Mò kmoen se yem kógów ye? B'-do k-do.its EMPH that k-go your,PL How was your journey?

(7) Moen 'why'

Moen ke hnalii? \$\mathcal{B}\$-do.he/she if -n-wound.you,SG} Why did you cut yourself?

(8) Mahi du 'which he/she/it'

Mahi du matù?
which he/she/it m-win

Which one won?

Mahi du bélê le kemgis? which he/she PREP them -em-strong Which of them is the stronger?

(9) Hilu 'how many/how much'

Hilu tau kenfô le? how.many people -en-catch they

How many people did they arrest?

# 13.2 Question particles

There are three question particles: de, kô and kóó.

### 13.2.1 Question particle de

The question particle de often occurs with all the question words, especially if they are used in isolation:

Boluyen de?
Gunun nù de?
Hilu de betesen?
Kilón de?
Mò kmoen de kuy?
Moem de?
Moen de?
Nù de?
Tedu de?

'What is it?'
'Where is it?'
'How much does it cost?'
'When?'
'How is it with you all?'
'What is your purpose?'
'Why?'
'Where is it?'

'What is it?'

### 13.2.2 Question particles kô and kóó

An ordinary statement can become a question by adding either the  $k\hat{o}$  or  $k\acute{o}\acute{o}$  particle. The "ordinary statement" may be either a sentence using a regular verb or it may be a nonverbal sentence.

#### 13.2.2.1 The particle kô

The question particle  $k\hat{o}$  indicates that the questioner expects either a 'yes' or 'no' answer. It occurs following the actor or experiencer in an ordinary verbal sentence. It follows the comment in an equational sentence.

(1) Verbal sentence

Thig Sit ye kô yem deng tonu? Ø-know you,PL QU that PT Ø-see,I Do you know what I saw?

Deng mkó kô yem tehe senlaw Timud? Has Timud's former sickness been PT m-remove-Ø QU that former -en-sickness Timud removed/healed?

Deng bud ton ye kô yem sdô? PT again Ø-see you,PL QU that pig Have you found the pig yet?

Móyói kô ke wen tulónu kóm? m-want.you,SG QU if there.is Ø-tell.I you,SG Would you like it if I told you something?

Deng nauy ye kô?
PT n-visit you,PL QU

Have you visited him yet?

(2) Nonverbal sentence

Hyu kô atul ni? good QU idea this Is this a good idea?



Ni kô gunù ye nù? this Qu place you,PL Ø-to.be Is this where you live?

Sana kwen le kô ngà onuku? still k-there.is their Qu child chicken.my Are all my little chickens still alive?

Deng mabù kô Kasi?

Has Kasi gotten fat?

T m-fat QU Kasi

With the existential wen 'there is', the question particle occurs following the comment:

Wen kô tau hemsidek kóm? there.is QU person h-em-bad you,sG Was there a person who hurt you?

Wen kô bulungen yem mùô lem ilungen? Is there medicine for a nosebleed? there is QU medicine it that m-blood inside nose it

But with the existential 'there is none', the question particle always occurs at the end of the question:

Laen dù kuy tenduk kô? NEG,it it you,PL -en-sickness QU None of you are sick, are you?

Laen deng mosok bè nihin kô? NEG,it PT m-fall.out LOC tooth.his QU None of his teeth have fallen out, have they?

## 13.2.2.2 The particle kóó

The kóó particle indicates that the questioner wants a 'yes' for an answer. It occurs at the very end of a regular verbal sentence, but in an equational clause it occurs following the comment.

(1) Verbal sentence

Hol ye gel mni bêlê me bè Dwata kóó? INT you,PL always m-ask PREP us,EX LOC God QU

bè Dwata kóó? Always really pray to God for us, won't

Bê tekuy seklifót kóó? NEG we,IN se-forget QU We won't forget each other, will we?

Deng le mangay imsó bè yó kun le PT they m-fetch hulled.rice LOC that him PL Father and his household have already gotten some hulled rice from there, haven't they?

Mà kóó? Father QU

(2) Equational clause

Deng deng ne k66 keklo ye
PT finish now QU ke-weeding.tool you,PL

You have already finished now, haven't you, your weeding the peanuts?

legasing? peanuts



Ni he kóó hol tahu ksulatem ebéléu? this yet QU really true k-letter.your DIR,PREP,me This is eally your first time to write to me, isn't it?

### 14. Summary

It was said in the introduction that learning a language well is a most exacting task. Now after having gone through this material, you know this fact by experience. In looking at Tboli as a whole, there are two basic hurdles that cannot be avoided by the learner. These are pronunciation and the focus system.

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Pronunciation is the hurdle for a Filipino learning Tboli, since Tboli has vowels that are not in most of the major languages of the Philippines: seven vowels instead of the usual four. Another difficulty is the Tboli preference for only one or two syllables in a root word which results in double consonants at the beginning of a great many words. Another difference is the fact that stress on a root word always falls on the final syllable, a fact which does not change even when a pronoun suffix is added. These are differences that make it more difficult for a Filipino to master Tboli pronunciation.

For an expatriate, the hurdle is the focus system, and this hurdle we are seldom able to clear completely. Even knowing the system does not always mean that we can use it correctly in speaking. Filipinos are well acquainted with the focus system. But the difficulty for them in learning Tboli is the fact that Tboli does not have the particles familiar to them to signal which participant in a sentence is in focus. It may be helpful to remember that the five different focus types in Tboli can be divided into two groups based on their similarities: experiencer and actor in one group; object, goal and instrument in the other. Of these five sentence types, the most frequently used are actor focus and object focus.

The four pronoun sets are also divided into two groups: two functioning as substitutes for a focused participant, the other two for a nonfocused participant. Other basic factors to remember are:

- 1. Only one participant can be in focus in a sentence.
- 2. The affix on the verb (or the lack of an affix) designates the role the focused participant plays in the sentence.
- 3. Substituting a pronoun for an unmarked noun or noun phrase will clearly reveal whether it is functioning as a focused or a nonfocused participant.
- 4. Word order is fixed in Tboli. The position of a participant in a sentence determines its role in that sentence. Only a focused participant can be used in the preverb position.

Since this is not an exhaustive study of Tboli grammar, it is to be expected that you will have questions that are not answered in this material. If you would like help with those questions, write the author at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Nasuli, Malaybalay, 8700 Bukidnon.



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